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29 December 1976

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1337

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Ford's Election Remark on Eastern Europe

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 46, 10 Nov 76 p 2

[Article by Frantisek Kudrna: "We Are Strong Thanks to Our Friends"]

[Text] During a pre-election debate Gerald Ford got himself into trouble. What happened was that he declared among other things that the Soviets were not dominating Eastern Europe. Whichever way Ford meant it, the American reactionary politicians and their spokesmen became quite furious: after all, for several decades they were trying to drum into their people's heads that the communists all over the world and the socialist states in Eastern Europe in particular are nothing more than Moscow's satellites. And now the American president makes a remark that might be interpreted in different ways, to say the least. Of course, the opposing candidate made a proper use of that remark. And so Mr. Ford apologized all over the place....

This is just one of the many small episodes of the incessant attack by capitalist politicians, ideologists and propagandists on the international unity and cooperation of the communists and socialist states for the purpose of primarily splintering them from their foundation, from their mother ship, so to say--the Soviet Union. The history of this effort is extremely rich. On its pages we find lies and deceit of every kind as well as various degrees of cunning. And yet it does them little good.

Sure, various forgeries in certain instances have indeed played their planned negative role. However, the entire progressive current could not be stopped. And so we are witnessing something that no objective person can deny: the influence of the socialist countries and world communism on the development of world events is growing increasingly stronger and deeper. It is also exceedingly clear what it brings to mankind: the working people of more and more countries are able to use the results of the labor of their hands and brains and the bounty of their homeland's nature to improve all aspects of their lives. Also, the communists all over the world, and particularly socialist states,

are doing everything to make destructive wars vanish not only from human experience but also from the vocabulary. The proposals of the Soviet Union submitted to the current General Assembly of the United Nations served again as a vivid testimony.

The foundation for the undisputable increase in the influence and strength of the world of socialism and the ideas of communism is the international unity, solidary and mutual support of the communist parties and the socialist countries in particular. William Shakespeare's words are valid even for the communists: "I am strong thanks to my friends."

The role of international unity of the communist movement, of the states where scientific socialism became the ruling ideology, continues to grow because their internationalization is progressing with an accelerated speed in all areas of the life of human society and the influence of international factors upon the development of each country is growing. Never before were the conditions of the struggle on the domestic and national fronts tied so closely with the ratio of the forces on the world scene and with the development of international relations. Never before was there such a fast, intensive and multifaceted development of the capitalist international integration and coordination of international policies of the capitalist states, which enables the imperialists to intensify the attack against the working people and their progressive organizations.

And for that reason, in the work of every Marx-Leninist communist party and in the activity of the states of socialist communities, there is an urgently increasing requirement for international cooperation, problems of international character are increasing, such as the struggle for peace and against the aggressive intrigues of imperialism, the support of the liberation and democratic movements, and coordination of policies and economies of the socialist countries.

International solidarity, cooperation and unity of the communists, due to their fundamental impact on the effectiveness of their activity, remain a constant thorn in the flesh of all overt and covert defenders of capitalism. They are trying to pit the national and international interests of the working people against each other, to corrode with the poison of nationalism the lofty building of a socially just world, of a world without any exploiters and parasites. The working people's national and international interests, however, are dialectically linked. As a matter of fact, in the final analysis the working people of one nation cannot benefit by anything that is to the disadvantage of the workers of another nation. And conversely--whatever benefits the working people of all countries, in the final analysis, sooner or later but inevitably, benefits also the people of each individual country.

Whoever would want to gain advantages for his citizens to the detriment the people of other nations, acts in fact--whether he is aware of it or not--to the advantage of the class enemy because thus he actually helps create the ground for the spreading of mutual distrust and hostility among the working people to the disadvantage of their common interests; he helps the enemy impair the common progress of individual international revolutionary divisions in the

basic questions of the struggle for social justice on this planet. The same results would also be brought about by the activity of those people who would strive for the welfare of their people alone and who would be unwilling to render temporary aid to their poorer, deprived class brothers in other countries. Indeed, the strength of each individual socialist state, of each individual communist party depends on the strength of the whole of the socialist community, of the entire international communist and progressive movement.

The internationalization of revolutionary experiences and the creative application of all that is valuable, all that was achieved in the practical experience of the class struggle all over the world are of extraordinary importance for the development of the international communist movement and for the consolidation of the states of the socialist community. In his report to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba Fidel Castro demonstrated very vividly how certain deficiencies and problems of the Cuban revolution could have been diminished from the very beginning, had the Cuban revolution been able to apply in a better way the rich experience of other nations that had earlier started to follow the road to the building of socialism.

Assessed experiences are a gold mine for the international revolutionary movement. True, the situation of each country cannot be copied. It must be approached creatively. However, just as capitalism in every country displays certain common, general and basic characteristics, so the successful struggle against it and the building of socialism, too, follow common general principles.

Every era has its own peculiar traits. Each country has different characteristics. The experience of history, however, confirms that concepts stemming from a particular country's distinctive character and individuality have often caused tragic consequences to its life. Just let us recall, for example, how on the eve of Hitler's ascent to power, the German social democratic press assured its readers that Germany was not like Italy and that accession of fascism there did not come into consideration. The victory of Hitlerism refuted such a self-confident concept of Germany's distinctiveness....

For that reason the Marxists-Leninists never looked with condescension at other countries' revolutionary experience and in their struggle for a better future of mankind they neither overestimated nor underestimated specific local characteristics. They also achieved success only when in local conditions they skillfully applied the commonly valid principles of the struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of the society.

Yes indeed: We are strong thanks to our class friends and brethren!

The Sonnenfeld Doctrine

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 47, 17 Nov 76 p 1

[Article by "vs": "The True Objective of One Doctrine"]

[Text] In recent months a broad campaign unfolded in Western news media concerning the so called Sonnenfeld doctrine which was named after an advisor of the State Department and whose gist is supposed to be a division of Europe into some kind of "spheres of responsibility" between the United States and the Soviet Union. The commentaries are teeming with claims such as "the United States has capitulated before the Soviet menace and confirmed Moscow's domination in Europe" or "the relaxation of tension threatens the sovereignty of the small states."

It is evident that similar fantastic theories fit precisely into a broader campaign led by the reactionary circles in the West against the process of normalization of the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as against further reduction of tensions on the international scale. The Soviet Union has always taken a stand, and does so now, against the division of the world into any kind of "spheres of influence," against the "system of blocs," "balance of powers" and other attributes of imperialist policy. The Soviet leaders just as firmly opposed an artificial maintenance of the social status quo and declared clearly on many occasions that the peaceful coexistence and extension of the process of reduction of tensions to all countries and continents do not mean any weakening of the ideological struggle. This position of the Soviet Union is sufficiently known and Western propaganda will be hardly successful in casting doubts on the main directions of Soviet foreign policy. As demonstrated by recent events surrounding the Italian parliamentary elections, when the U.S. Congress and Senate openly tried to influence the political development in that country, the current campaign concerning the so-called Sonnenfeld doctrine resembles just a clumsy effort to conceal and justify the intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of those Western countries that belong into its "sphere of responsibility."

Intrigues Concerning Yugoslavia

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 47, 17 Nov 76 p 1

[Article by Jiri Jakoubek: "Why the 'Anxiety' Over Yugoslavia?"]

[Text] Just turn the pages of the Belgrade BORBA or POLITIKA or of the official Yugoslav statistics and you will learn that in the first 6 months of this year the Yugoslav export was 19.8% higher than in the same period in 1975, import was 15% lower, the rate of inflation was successfully reduced, that by various measures and on the basis of agreements between individual republics and autonomous provinces the unrestrained increase in prices is being prevented, and that the Federal Assembly unanimously adopted the social plan for the

development of Yugoslavia for the period 1976-1980. Of course, problems still exist--the low productivity of labor, insufficient exploitation of production capacities, the disproportion between the consumption and production, etc. These problems, too, are being openly discussed.

From the West European bourgeois press, however, the reader can learn nothing about the positive phenomena in the development of Yugoslav economy, not even the fact that the approved five-year plan speaks of an increased production of food, development of power engineering industry and a more intensive exploitation of raw materials from domestic resources. From the "prestigious" London weekly THE ECONOMIST the reader will learn something entirely different, most of all about "foreign pressures and intrigues" aimed at that country. A motive for such writing can always be found. For instance, even such a fact as comrade Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Yugoslavia presents an advantageous opportunity for wild speculations: whether the six individual republics will "quarrel" among themselves; whether some of them want to become "non-communist"; whether some of the republics will call for "help from the East." Such speculations are nothing new. They appeared already in 1971 at the time of the so called Croatian events, when the Yugoslav communists began to oppose more decisively various nationalists, rightist opportunists and representatives of the liberal bourgeois as well as dogmatic and far left views.

I recall Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Yugoslavia in October 1971. By his presence and appearance he put an end to all speculations of the West European journalists who were present there and who tried and still are trying hard,--as for instance THE ECONOMIST is doing now--to muddy the Balkan waters and to weaken the relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia. After all, is it not exactly in London, Madrid, New York and Munich where there are the headquarters of various Ustashi and monarchist organizations and of groups that are plotting various assassinations and divergent activities against Yugoslav representatives with the aim to disrupt the socialist peace building of that country?

Therefore, the reply of the Belgrade BORBA is more appropriate. It would be better if THE ECONOMIST paid more attention to an explanation of relations between the British nations instead of venturing out on the slippery ground of political intrigues and propaganda against Yugoslavia.

9004

CSO: 2400

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'NEPSZABADSAG' REPORTS PRESIDENT LOSONCZI'S NEW DELHI TOAST

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Dec 76 p 2 AU

[MTI report on Hungarian Presidential Council Chairman Pal Losonczi's toast at a 7 December New Delhi festive dinner in his honor: "Pal Losonczi: There Are Good Prerequisites for a Further Development of Relations Between the Two Countries"]

[Text] Pal Losonczi stressed in his toast: "I am pleased that, in agreement with Mr President's conclusions I, too, can confirm that our bilateral relations are developing in a balanced manner in every area, whether we consider their political, economic or cultural aspects." The Presidential Council chairman noted that, following each previous high-level meeting, Hungarian-Indian relations have developed even more dynamically in the course of the implementation of the agreements that have been concluded. He expressed his belief that this will apply in the future as well. "I would like to stress this all the more," he continued, "since both sides clearly realize that we have not as yet fully exhausted all possibilities furnished by the need to develop our relations further. I am convinced that the talks conducted during my present visit and the agreement that will come about, that will be concluded as a result of them, will generally open wider the path of our cooperation," he said and noted that the same applies to highly important and vital aspects of international politics as well. He noted with pleasure that the two countries maintain an identical position or profess views very close to each other on the more important issues of international politics, and this creates additional favorable prerequisites for the development and intensification of friendly relations and Hungarian-Indian cooperation.

"The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic," Pal Losonczi stressed, "also concentrates its foreign political endeavors on the struggle for peace, the strengthening and further intensification of the process of detente and the consolidation of international security and reconciliation and cooperation among peoples. Only this is in compliance with the fundamental national interests of all peoples," the Presidential Council chairman noted.

"The Hungarian Government," Pal Losonczi stressed, "firmly believes that the nonaligned movement is fulfilling an important and valuable, progressive role in current international politics. That is why we value so highly the activities pursued and the pioneering role, a role serving progress, played by the Indian Government in preparing the nonaligned countries' summit held in Colombo, for the success of the work of the conference and for preserving the anti-imperialist unity of the nonaligned movement."

In conclusion, the chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic raised his glass to friendship between the peoples of India and Hungary, the social and economic advancement of the Indian people and the health of President Ahem and his wife, as well as that of the highly esteemed prime minister, Mme Indira Gandhi.

CSO: 2500

BULGARIA

USSR MINISTER OF DEFENSE USTINOV VISITS BULGARIA

Accepts Pleven Honorary Citizenship

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 76 p 3 AU

[Excerpts] Pleven (6 Dec)--Today the Soviet delegation, led by Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of defense arrived in Pleven.

On the same evening, at a festive meeting, Dmitriy Ustinov was awarded the title "Honorary Citizen of Pleven."

Moved and with deep emotion Dmitriy Ustinov stated:

Allow me to express my most sincere and profound gratitude for the great honor bestowed on me--the award "Honorary Citizen of Pleven City." This was a decision of the Executive Committee of the Pleven City People's Council which I appreciate as a demonstration of the great, fraternal feelings of the Bulgarian people and of the BCP toward the USSR, the Soviet people and our Leninist Communist Party.

Your city holds an important place in the history of our two peoples. It symbolizes the Russian-Bulgarian and Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and fraternity, sealed by the jointly shed blood in the struggle against the common enemy. To bear the title "Honorary Citizen" of such a wonderful city as Pleven is a great honor.

The friendship existing between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria is stronger than ever. Its traditions are being multiplied by the remarkable successes achieved in socialist and communist building. These traditions embody the unity existing between the CPSU and the BCP, the fraternity between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, between the USSR and Bulgaria. We are aware of the tremendous enthusiasm and perseverance of the Bulgarian people in implementing the decisions adopted by the 11th party congress in practical life. The tremendous organizational work in connection with implementing the policy of building a developed socialist society is being

accomplished by the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the great friend of the Soviet Union, the glorious son of the Bulgarian people and ardent patriot and internationalist.

The Soviet people rejoice with all their hearts at your successes and have no doubt that the successful implementation of the plans will accelerate your country's progress along the path of socialism, toward new achievements.

I would like once more to thank you with all my heart for the great honor bestowed on me--the award of the honorary title: "Honorary Citizen of Pleven City" and to assure you that I will bear this title with honor and dignity, as it becomes a communist and a citizen of the Soviet Union.

The BCP okrug committee gave a dinner party in honor of the Soviet delegation, which was held in a cordial atmosphere.

Visits Sofia Garrison Soldiers

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 76 p 5 AU

[BTA report on visit by Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, to the soldiers of the Sofia garrison, on 7 December 1976]

[Text] The friendship between the Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Army manifested itself with a new, impressive demonstration yesterday. Soldiers and officers of the Sofia garrison met the Soviet military delegation, headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of national defense.

The guests were accompanied by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, by Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, and by Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Col Gen Khachik Ambaryan, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, and Viktor Khadakhovskiy, military, airforce, and naval attache at the USSR Embassy in Sofia, also attended.

The meeting was opened by Lt Gen Boris Karamfilov, chief of the Sofia garrison.

"Your visit is a new confirmation of the pure and indestructible friendship existing between the soldiers of the Bulgarian and Soviet Armies," Private Svetoslav Stoev stated in his greeting speech addressing the Soviet military leaders. He assured the guests that the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army together with the armies of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal

countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact, are ready at the call of our Communist Parties, to always fulfill their patriotic and international duty and to reliably defend the achievements of socialism.

The speech delivered by Comrade Dmitriy Ustinov was heard with great attention. He stated: "The USSR and Bulgaria, together with the other countries belonging to the socialist community are marching side by side in the struggle for lasting peace on our planet. Thanks to the efforts of the socialist countries and of all progressive forces in the world, we succeeded in averting the menace of nuclear war and in making peace more reliable and more durable."

The USSR minister of defense stressed that, despite the successes achieved in detente, the international atmosphere remains complicated and controversial. Forces of reaction and militarism exist in the world and are active, forces which are trying to cast doubts on the opportunities and expediency of detente, forces which are intensifying the arms race. All this demands constant vigilance from us, it forces us to increase the combat readiness of our armies, as well as to strengthen their cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, the marshal of the Soviet Union stressed. We, the communists, have always been against the creation of military blocks and on several occasions we have expressed our views on this question, Ustinov stated.

Comrade Dmitriy Ustinov stressed the significance of the declaration adopted by the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, which opened new horizons to international detente, to the consolidation of security and to the development of cooperation.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION--At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, a working group of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] Central Committee led by Anna Maria Delgi Abati, PCI Central Committee member and senator, visited Bulgaria 1-8 December. The working group acquainted itself with BCP experience in work with women. The delegation visited the Institute of Midwifery and Gynecology, the Students City in Sofia, the "Vitosha," "Kliment Voroshilov" and "Purvenets" industrial plants and a school in Sofia. Meetings and talks were conducted with Drazha Vulcheva, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Plovdiv BCP okrug committee; Mako Dakov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Lilyana Pavlova, BCP Central Committee "organizational" department deputy head. Additional meetings took place at the BCP Central Committee "Foreign Policy and International Relations" Department, the Ministry of Public Health, Sofia City BCP Committee and the Committee of Bulgarian Women. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Dec 76 p 5 AU]

TANU DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE--Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)--A delegation of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) led by Mr M. Kisoki, member of the National Executive Council of the party, visited the country 19-27 November at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. The guests from Tanzania were received by Mr Ivan Prumov, secretary of the CC of the BCP. The prospects for further development of friendly relations between BCP and TANU were discussed. Today the delegation left for home. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 27 Nov 76 AU]

YEMENI DELEGATION--Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, has received the delegation of the Organization of People's Defense Committees of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen led by (Fadl Mohamed Abdul Rab), member of the Central Committee of the National Front Political Organization. Problems pertaining to the further cooperation between the two organizations were discussed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 1 Dec 76 AU]

YEMENI DELEGATION ARRIVES--At the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council a delegation of the Organization of People's Defense Committees of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen arrived in Bulgaria. The delegation is headed by (Fadel Mohamed Abdul Rab), member of the Central Committee of the National Front Political Organization. During its visit the delegation will be acquainted with the activities of the largest mass sociopolitical organization in our country. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 76 AU]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ POLITICAL-ORGANIZATIONAL DEPARTMENT OUTLINES FUTURE TASKS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 44, 27 Oct 76 pp 3-4

[Interview with Karel Karas, deputy head of the Political and Organizational Department of the CPCZ Central Committee, by Milos Prosek]

[Text] [Question] We frequently emphasize the challenging nature of the tasks and goals set by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ for our entire party and society. These tasks and goals would not be feasible if the internal apparatus of the communist party itself, its organs and basic organizations, was not prepared to carry them out. In this connection it is not coincidental that special emphasis has been placed on the need to constantly increase the efficiency and quality of party work. Could you explain to our readers what basic principles are expressed by these two concepts in everyday practice?

[Answer] First of all, I would like to point out that we are dealing with a viewpoint that is not at all new as far as communists are concerned. All tasks which we are engaged in never have been and never will be an end in itself. That is, the active internal life of the CPCZ has a direct impact on conditions in all spheres of life in our country. When the 15th Congress of the CPCZ affirmed the principle of efficiency and quality as a strategic policy line governing our future development, it was "not only" referring to the economy alone, but rather in the first place to the work performed by communists who by virtue of their example and political-organizational influence are supposed to enlist the support of the rest of the citizenry for the task of realizing challenging goals in the national economy, in science, the arts, and in other important areas....

[Question] But let us return to the actual concepts of efficiency and quality; how would one go about "translating" these terms into everyday language?

[Answer] Concisely state, efficiency is an expression of the degree of effectiveness achieved by the energy and resources which we invest in any kind of work process in the interest of attaining desirable results. As is the case in the national economy, so it is in politics too that the quality

factor helps us to determine whether the work accomplished is consistent with the objective needs and development patterns of a society. Even in the economic field it turns out that the viewpoint according to which it is possible to talk about first, second, and third degrees of quality is nowadays outmoded. The order of the day now is the highest relative degree of quality that is attainable with the proper utilization of our available resources. You surely realize what I am getting at here. Namely, if a given criterion affecting the national economy is valid, it is at least just as urgent a requirement in political life, in the work of the whole party and in the work of each individual communist.

[Question] What are the prerequisites for constantly achieving the highest degree of quality in political work? Which of them could be designated as being the most fundamental?

[Answer] First of all, allow me to modify your question somewhat. That is to say, the life of a society consists of a whole complex of economic, cultural, and social processes that are subject to the influence of external and internal factors, in regard to which it is impossible to single out one or another fundamental aspect. It would, therefore, be difficult for me to state unequivocally that a particular prerequisite for quality political work is more important than all the others.

Therefore, let us concentrate on a broader concept. Namely from a quantitative standpoint as well, the CPCZ, as the leading force in our society, represents a powerful living entity. In essence there is no work environment where the influence of party organization is absent. The more than 1,382,000 members and candidate members of the CPCZ are establishing conditions that provided its forces are effectively dispersed, make it possible to establish the influence of the communist party in basically every important sector. Even though I am not saying that we can be satisfied with everything in this connection, there is one thing that can be said without the risk of over-simplification. That is, everywhere where party organs and organizations have succeeded in making proper use of the above-mentioned assets we have witnessed an increase in the prestige of communists, who by virtue of their example persuade the rest of the citizenry to join in working for the implementation of the tasks contained in the program of the 15th Congress....

[Question] Now I can re-phrase my original question in more precise terms. Namely, what should be the starting point for any party committee or for the entire collective of a basic organization in trying to utilize the energies and abilities of communists in the most effective manner possible?

[Answer] First of all, they should start by analyzing the situation in the appropriate work environment, town, or village. Most party committees already do things this way. In so doing they are guided by the example of the 15th Congress, whose resolutions were adopted on the basis of a scientifically justified, theoretically and practically sound analysis of the present situation and emerging trends in the development of socialist

society. Of course, when making comparisons between situations in individual areas, the fact cannot be overlooked that certain disparities still do exist. Any deviation from the principle of objective analysis always gives rise to the danger of improvisation, subjectivism, and a pro forma execution of prescribed tasks....

[Question] You already did say, of course, that party organizations are active under specific conditions in an industrial enterprise, in some other working environment, or in a place of residence. One would not expect, therefore, that they would make decisions without knowledge of these specific conditions....

[Answer] Obviously I am not saying any such thing. I could cite many good examples of organizations that are effectively guided by the example of the 15th Congress and the working methods of the CPCZ Central Committee. This of course does not mean that there is no unutilized potential in the internal functioning of other CPCZ basic organizations.

In one of my speeches I recently noted that it is not possible in practice to rely on the fragmentary experience of individual officials and numerical data, since they do not allow for the critical evaluation or objective analysis of a party committee or the collective of a party organization. This is because the truth about the conditions and relations among the people in the bodies is always "hidden" beneath the surface. Consequently, we cannot be satisfied with pro forma statements to the effect that, from an overall viewpoint, everything is in order or that all problems have been "basically" resolved. When we examine the situation more closely we quickly learn that in reality there has been an unacceptable simplification. Namely, an enterprise "basically" fulfills its plan, but our society still goes on lacking much of what it needs in terms of the selection and quality of goods supplied to the market. "Basically," proper concern is shown for worker benefits and welfare, but people still have a number of reservations concerning communal food services, the quality of social welfare services, and transportation to work. On the job human relations are "basically" good, even when there is a fairly large group of employees who are not happy with the atmosphere of their collectives. The construction or renovation of production facilities has been "basically" completed, machinery has been installed, but production has not yet started owing to the widest variety of reasons....

I am sure I do not have to explain what I am driving at with all of these "examples." We have to weed out every superficiality, every harmful "generalism" and the mere calculation of averages in which details are ignored, and consequently not resolved in time. Such details cannot be written off by saying that they are not characteristic of the kind of work we happen to be engaged in. Party organizations are responsible for being familiar with such situations. It is their responsibility to identify and solve problems, to persevere in the effort to overcome them and to assign tasks in the fulfillment of which communists demonstrate

their leadership abilities in organizing the initiative and active commitment of their co-workers and other fellow-citizens.

[Question] Not even an objective analysis of a situation is therefore an end in and of itself. It fulfills its mission when it becomes an impetus for specific work. What else could you tell us about this problem area?

[Answer] First, permit me to make a small digression. Every aspect of life in our country has its own peculiarities. The efficiency of party work also depends on showing respect for this objective fact, because the forms and methods of political action can only produce the desired results when they are not used in a reckless manner--without regard for the specific tasks of a given basic organization. Naturally, some principles governing the conduct of political work are so universal that they apply without exception to any type of party organization.

The first of these is the already mentioned need to be familiar with a given situation, where cannot get by with rough estimates or with statements to the effect that, for example, "a certain group" of communists have so far not shown a sufficient degree of activism in their political work. Within the framework of a CPCZ basic organization participation in such a learning process cannot now be confined solely to its party committee or just a few of its officials. It is essential that it should include other communists--rank and file workers and management officials who are also quite familiar with the views and opinions of their non-party fellow employees and other citizens.

Another basic principle related to the learning process involves knowing how to assign tasks which are of critical importance in the course of any given development stage under specific conditions in work institutions, towns, or villages. In this regard we cannot rely "solely" on the resolutions of the 15th Congress, as that would mean that they would merely be mechanically rewritten into the plans of various organizations. The proper deployment of party forces and the concentration of essential resources, which constitute the third condition of effective political action, depends on taking an independent and genuinely creative approach to the congress documents.

This is, of course, not to be equated with any kind of hasty impulsiveness, the "duplication" of generally accepted ideas, or with any kind of stereotyped thinking....

[Question] Of course, even this is probably not enough to get the job done. In this regard I am reminded of that part of the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 25th Congress, in which major emphasis was placed on control functions in relation to the fulfillment of approved plans....

[Answer] Yes, I agree with you on that. Even though we did manage to accomplish a great deal in this connection during the preceding period, it is a fact that a lot of work still "remains to be done" precisely in the area of the effectiveness of control functions. I would not want to repeat here all of the well-known principles in this regard, but certainly worth mentioning are certain instances of inconsistency that have come to light in hints of a liberal attitude of some organizations toward comrades who are generally known to have failed to fulfill their assigned tasks. It is hard to accept the reports submitted by party committees at membership meetings when they merely state that a given task has not been carried out and recommend that it be postponed until a later date. Insofar as it turned that such task was unrealistic in terms of the time allotted for its implementation, a party committee should first criticize its own work, since its original decision was obviously made in a hasty manner. If, however, all the necessary conditions were present for the implementation of a directive, a basic organization party committee or any other party organ should then not be reluctant to take measures against those comrades who failed to carry out their responsibilities.

[Question] The effectiveness of party work is also directly connected with a question that was discussed at the second session of the CPCZ Central Committee in June of this year. This question has to do with the upgrading of the CPCZ membership base, and in this connection the Central Committee adopted a specific resolution. I do not supposed that it would be necessary to repeat the entire contents of this document, which was issued in response to the resolutions of the 15th Congress. Nevertheless, I still think that we cannot afford to neglect some discussion of this subject in our present conversation....

[Answer] We certainly cannot. The second session of the CPCZ Central Committee engaged in a substantive discussion of the need to improve the quality of the membership base in terms of the whole range of tasks that are associated with this problem area. The contents of the resolution that was adopted, which in conjunction with improving the quality of the existing membership base also defines the recruitment of new members and candidates as a criterion of the most fundamental importance, can of course be summarized in a few words. The goal here is to provide for a continuation of the process in which the best forces in our society are absorbed into the ranks of the CPCZ, which has been objectively summoned to fill the role of being the political, ideological, and organizational center of our whole country.

The significance of this resolution then does not consist "solely" in the tasks which it lays down, because it is also directly related to the recruitment of new party members and candidate members. Moreover, the improvement of the quality of the party's membership base represents an unbroken, ongoing process in which every communist is an objective and subjective participant. After all, none of us can proclaim that we have reached the limits of "our own potential for excellence," which can no longer be improved upon. There

certainly always has been and always will be differences in the levels of personal experience, professional training, and political maturity among individual comrades. But everyone has to keep on working--in collaboration with other fellow-communists--to improve himself. In the final analysis, this is also confirmed, among other things, by the critically toned examples that I mentioned in my previous responses. There are no exceptions to this rule, since it is objectively impossible to exclude anyone from it. A candidate member or a young party member, communists belonging to the middle-age generation and older comrades, all of us share large responsibility before the party for the course our lives take in the future as well.

In this regard I am suddenly reminded of a piece of wisdom that an older party member shared with me many years ago. He told me, "Do your work as if you planned on living for a 100 years!". In saying this he was obviously thinking of work that is honorable and meticulous, the kind of work that to a great extent gives all of us a sense of purpose in life. However, a person has to have something more than just "cleverness" in order to do this kind of work. He also has to possess profound knowledge that is supplemented by constant training and practical activity. If the above wise saying applies to all kinds of work, then it is all the more applicable to the political work of communists. The recent elections to representative assemblies have again proved convincingly that we are travelling along the right road. Whether or not we stay on this road leading to ever higher standards now depends on our sense of responsibility and our courageousness in finding solutions to new problems and in waging a relentless struggle against all shortcomings.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSR EDUCATION DEPUTY MINISTER DISCUSSES FUTURE, NEW TRENDS IN EDUCATION

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 46, 10 Nov 76 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Dr Karel Cepicka, CSR deputy minister of education, by Jan Bartak: "Education More in Accord With the Needs of Society"]

[Text] The subject of our interview became the Project for the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System. As a program, this project starts out from the ideas advanced at the 14th CPCZ Congress in 1971, and at the related session of the CPCZ Central Committee held in July 1973, and also from the extensive debate on how to develop education as a real support of socialism. A key role in this project is played by the requirement of strengthening the Marxist-Leninist world outlook's influence on youth by asserting the unity of education and instruction, and their close contact with the life and work of our people.

The objective of the Project for the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System is that our society be able to give the overwhelming majority of youths secondary education, and eventually complete secondary education. The kindergarten becomes an integral part of this system; its purpose is to prepare children for work in the eight-year grade school. Grade school is followed by the four-year secondary vocational schools, secondary vocational institutions, and gymnasiums as elective directions of further secondary education. However, their structure will change gradually. The secondary vocational institutes, to which the training of future young blue-collar workers will be transferred, will eventually become the decisive form of acquiring secondary and complete secondary education.

Secondary education is changing its character, in accordance with the needs of society. The curricula of also the gymnasiums and secondary vocational schools will be changed so that a proportion of their graduates will be trained as skilled workers. In a unified complex of educational institutions that logically dovetail, all youths up to the age of at least 16 will receive an education that will enable them to succeed in all areas of social activity.

[Question] Education is becoming one of the most important factors of society's further development. To the quantity of new knowledge it is no longer possible to react merely with a change in the quantity of instruction, rather

with a qualitative change of the entire content of educational work. Comrade Deputy Minister, how would you characterize these changes?

[Answer] The basic task of our educational system is to react, with sufficient lead time, to the needs of our society. In other words, to train the young people so that politically and vocationally they will be able to solve the tasks that will confront them in practice at the turn of the millennium. Therefore the party has entrusted us with the task of drafting anew the curricula for the individual levels and types of schools in such a way that the educational system may be an integral, albeit internally differentiated, whole. In the proposal for the further development of the Czechoslovak educational system, the general-education and polytechnical components of the curricula are broadened significantly. The point is to train broadly specialized graduates who will be able to adapt to the further development of production and of all social activity.

We are placing emphasis not on the quantity of knowledge intended for study, rather on its quality, on an understanding of its relations and interrelations within the so-called basic curriculum. This curriculum will have to be mastered by everyone, on a level that will teach him to survey the problems around him independently, enabling him to learn further and improve himself after graduation, and to satisfy the requirements of changing practice.

Preschool education, and instruction in grade school and in secondary school will cease to be independent integral wholes; gradually they will become parts of a unified system. The knowledge gained in the lower grades of the schools will be the foundation of the knowledge acquired in the upper grades. Therefore it is not our objective to impart to grade-school students all the knowledge that they will need in their lives and in their work. That would be humanly impossible. But we must teach them to think independently and to find the additional knowledge they might need. We will place greater emphasis than up to now on independent work with sources, encyclopedias, dictionaries, reference tables and other aids, where the student will find the data he needs, without unnecessarily burdening his memory with them. We will then be able to use his intellectual capacity more fully and more effectively. This is the way to train a young person for the requirements of the revolution in science and technology, as Comrade L. Brezhnev pointed out in the Central Committee's report to the 25th CPSU Congress.

[Question] Thus we might say that we are approaching the concept of the school as a real instrument of the individual's development. How have you arrived at this concept?

[Answer] The Project for the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System was preceded by lengthy studies and research. We accumulated and evaluated all the information about, and experience with, the educational systems in the socialist and other countries. We verified experimentally what we regarded as the most expedient under our conditions. Whatever proved suitable became a part of the approved document.

[Question] Although much has been written and said about the Project on various occasions, some of its aspects deserve closer attention. Let us return to the idea of the educational system as a relatively integral whole, ranging from kindergarten to colleges and universities. What will be the status of the kindergarten in this new concept?

[Answer] A condition for the inclusion of the kindergarten in the unified system is the requirement that the largest possible proportion of the children born in a given year eventually attend kindergarten. We have in mind particularly the so-called underprivileged children. They are the children who come from an environment that does not permit the full, all-round and harmonious development of the child. Contrary to what some people erroneously believe, also in the future the kindergarten will not be teaching the children reading, writing and arithmetic. Its purpose will be quite different: to uniformly prepare all children for school attendance, to broaden their vocabulary, to develop in them a good attitude to work, to reinforce and improve collective education, and to provide the foundation for instruction in music, art and physical culture. Our purpose, then, is to develop already in kindergarten all possible aspects of a child's personality, for the child's optimal development in the coming years, and to enable the child to meet the requirements of grade school.

[Question] What changes will there be in the content of grade school, and in this context also in the requirements that the pupils must meet?

[Answer] The new concept of preschool education, which permits the all-round development of a child, will provide the necessary conditions also for the new concept of work in grade school. Grade school will develop the pupils' ability to work independently, to make decisions, to judge and select suitable methods and procedures for solving a given problem. Simultaneously we will emphasize teamwork, the collective solution of the problems. Problem and programmed instruction likewise will find wider application. Regular control and evaluation will make possible the systematic monitoring of every child's development, and its timely influencing when necessary.

So far as the actual content of instruction is concerned, we will place emphasis primarily on the Czech language and mathematics. These are the subjects that, in combination with the others, are intended to teach the child logical thinking. The logic structure of the native language and the fundamentals of set theory are eminently suitable for this. At the same time, this will not be any excessive overburdening of the children, an attack on their minds, rather the utilization of their natural abilities.

[Question] We know from the science of education that a normal, healthy child can be led to understand any subject at a tender age, in an intellectually suitable form. This has been demonstrated by Academician Landau and many others. The important thing is to find a suitable approach to the children, the ability to explain more simply also the complicated.

[Answer] This is exactly what we have in mind. In the experimental schools we have been testing for several years ways to find the necessary "key to

the child's intellect," to gain the child for the new content of work with new methods and means. It seems that we are succeeding. The pupils of these schools, without exception, regard mathematics as their most-liked subject. They are penetrating the secrets of set theory in the spirit of the "school of play" advocated by Comenius. They are approaching playful study with interest and are devoting far more attention to new math than to traditional mathematics, and this is reflected also in their grades. Mathematics has ceased to be a bogeyman; it has become an opportunity for the children to demonstrate their abilities and creativity. If we can accomplish this on a mass scale, it will be a good foundation for accelerating the intellectual development of children. And not only that. We may assume that also the children's attitude to the study of the natural and the technical sciences will improve.

[Question] Even the best of plans fail or succeed depending on who is implementing them. This is doubly true of plans concerning education. What is the teachers' attitude to the realized changes?

[Answer] The experience gained with the experiments is unambiguous. The teachers with whom we had an opportunity to talk have stated spontaneously that they would be reluctant to revert to teaching according to the old method. At the beginning, of course, they had to overcome many difficulties. They had to train themselves to regard the problems in a new way, and they had to overcome the conservatism in their own thinking and in the thinking of the parents. The children were the ones who best adapted to the new conditions. Far sooner than their predecessors, the children began to speak out independently, to actively cooperate in class, to think. This is something a teacher values the most. Therefore I am convinced that in the overwhelming majority of the teachers we will find reliable and selfless allies for the realization of the Project.

[Question] Development of all aspects of a young individual's personality is both a means and an objective of education. A means in the sense that this creates favorable conditions for the graduate's success in practice. An objective from the viewpoint of the general goal of the individual's harmonious development. What are the draft's intentions from the viewpoint of deliberately and carefully preparing young people to choose their professions?

[Answer] I will cite an example. The new concept of teaching mathematics obviously will gain for the natural and the technical sciences many of those who, under the old method of instruction, would not have acquired the necessary "mathematical thinking." The natural-science and polytechnical aspects of the curriculum are to be reinforced also in other subjects and in their new structure. This is a worldwide trend. In socialist society it is reinforced by the fact that here scientific and technical progress serves the interest of entire society. We will devote far more attention than previously to developing the students' interest in elective subjects, nonrequired subjects, and in extracurricular hobby clubs.

[Question] The extracurricular activity of children in hobby clubs should be free of any formalism. Some children, for example, enroll in something

in which their teachers or parents are known to be interested, something that offers the children certain advantages or at least spares them certain difficulties. I think the children's orientation on the proper choice of a profession could be enhanced by the school's closer contact with life, with the practice of their parents and elder siblings, or simply with what the children cannot learn in school. This means broadening the repertory of elective opportunities in such a way that children can become acquainted primarily with those fields of human activity whose development is in society's primary interest.

[Answer] The present composition of the extracurricular hobby circles conforms to everything but what you have just said. We have at present literature circles, choir circles, dancing circles, music circles, painting circles, or even manual dexterity circles. But even the circles mentioned last are concerned mostly with sewing, weaving and knitting, rather than with teaching manual skills and habits in which we are primarily interested. What we need is extracurricular hobby circles of a technical orientation, for the operation and management of which the school itself often is incapable. The sponsorship of schools by industrial plants could be very fruitful specifically in this area. Responsible training of youths requires that the boys and girls become acquainted with the modern machinery and technologies in our plants, and that they have an opportunity to try something in the school's workshop. Under the guidance of an experienced master craftsman, perhaps with the assistance of an elder apprentice. As soon as the young individual gets hooked on work and achieves his first successful results, he becomes interested in the given trade, and the proper selection of his future occupation ceases to be a problem.

[Question] Actually we are interested here in a twofold effect. In addition to training that prepares the student to choose his future profession, opportunity arises here also for the grade-school students' direct contact with apprentices and with the craftsmen and teachers who train the apprentices.

[Answer] For example, we would like to have elder apprentices lead the hobby circles in grade school. Suitable apprentices thus could help the younger girls and boys choose their future professions.

[Question] A school's hobby circles are only one aspect of youth's extracurricular training. The children visit the houses of Pioneers and youths, the popular schools of art; they are members of the sport sections of various voluntary organizations. Often these activities are not mutually coordinated. The children go from one thing to another; they do not have the time to reinforce what they have learned and experienced. The school probably should devote more attention to expediently coordinating the extracurricular activities of the children.

[Answer] Briefly speaking, there is actually a very wide spectrum of formative influences that should contribute, in agreement with the educational objectives of the school, toward developing everything positive in the children. We will strive first of all to develop the stimuli that can

contribute toward the proper orientation of the children. Here, too, quality must replace quantity. In cooperation with the organs concerned, we wish to achieve that every organ do not offer everything, rather that each organ concentrate on some specific area in which it can offer the children the most, where its influence is irreplaceable.

[Question] You emphasized the polytechnical component of education. The educational process tends to reinforce the organized forms through which it is possible to influence purposefully, with foresight, and hence effectively. How can the polytechnical component contribute toward the proper orientation of the children?

[Answer] In every subject we wish to emphasize the close relationship among subjects, the essential link between the social and the natural sciences. Today even a person who wishes to devote himself to languages or to library sciences cannot dispense with mathematics. The sooner a child rids himself of various illusions and false notions regarding the requirements for the individual professions, the better. As soon as a child finds out that he will need mathematics even if he chooses to study the humanities, his attitude to mathematics, physics, etc. will improve. In addition to the standard requirements, in the 7th and 8th grades an important role is played by the chosen requirements that are a part of general education but serve to satisfy the students' developing interests. The elective subjects are intended not only to define, develop and satisfy the students' interests, but also to help the students choose a profession.

[Question] The most gratifying thing for a teacher is when his former students do well in their further studies and eventually in practice. The basic change in the previous concept of grade school (this year, specifically in the first grade) will require a revision also of the concept of further study. This of course will involve demanding theoretical and experimental work, in conjunction with testing the selected procedures, training teachers, writing new textbooks and study aids, and also an entire series of political and organizational measures. How successful is the solution of these questions?

[Answer] We have verified experimentally the first four grades of grade school. At present we are testing the next concept in the sixth grade. All teachers for the first grade have been trained. The teachers who taught the new curriculum in the experimental schools are helping to train additional teachers. Their experience often is very specific and valuable; it helps the new teachers overcome the difficulties that the students may have in covering the more demanding portions of the curriculum.

Thus we have an ever-wider aktiv of people whose knowledge can contribute toward upgrading instruction on a mass scale. Equally demanding is the work on new textbooks. Every textbook that is published actually has been revised several times. The final version comes out only after an evaluation of the kraj and okres experiments. The authors of the textbooks attend the exchanges of experience in the okreses and krajs, and they participate in the debate on the changes in the proposed textbooks. Thus the final text

of the new textbooks is the work of not only the authors who appear on the cover, and of the extensive collective of editors, but also of the teachers who have helped to complete the revision of the textbooks.

The experiments in progress, and the work in conjunction with writing the new textbooks and training the teachers and administrators for the grade schools, are proceeding according to a unified work schedule that is being fulfilled and controlled with responsibility. We do not begin the realization of any measure if we do not have for it the trained personnel and prepared aids that have been thoroughly tested in practice and evaluated. Realization of the Project in grade school has been completely prepared. The content of the curriculum in the individual grades has already been elaborated, including the interrelations of the subjects. Work is underway on writing the textbooks and training the teachers for the higher grades. Concepts of the curricula for the individual types of secondary schools are being prepared.

[Question] Educational facilities that serve to train youths for blue-collar trades form a separate chapter in this context. They are a branch of secondary education equal to the gymnasiums and secondary vocational schools. Evidently it will be necessary to thoroughly evaluate the present structure of apprenticeship trades, and to gradually introduce qualitative changes in their content. How far has the solution of these problems advanced?

[Answer] On the basis of careful preparations, the number of apprenticeship trades will be reduced to about one-half. A skilled worker must be broadly specialized. He must be able to stand his ground under both the present and future conditions, to adapt to the changing content and nature of blue-collar work. The worker who completes his apprenticeship will gain narrower specialization on the job. But the more thoroughly we prepare him in school, the easier it will be for him to switch to a new trade, to master a new machine or technology, to direct and organize the work of others, and to streamline the production process.

[Question] We will certainly return to these questions on the pages of our journal. From today's interview, of course, we are able to draw a basic conclusion: all forms of study will gradually constitute a unified yet open system that will react, with the necessary lead time, to the needs of society. Thus one of the ideas advanced by Klement Gottwald will be realized: Only socialism opens for every young individual the way to knowledge and beauty, to inspire intellectually and morally his all-round development, for his own benefit and for the benefit of our entire country.

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CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

OCTOBER 1976 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] EINHEIT, the SED Central Committee's monthly "Journal for Theory and Practice of Scientific Socialism," devotes four of the nine major articles in its October issue to the topic of "Science and Technology" (Vol 31, No 10, October 1976, signed to press 6 September 1976, pages 1075-1184).

In the first article of this group, Central Committee Science Department Chief Hannes Hoernig points out the need for improvement in the management and planning of scientific work. The work process in science, according to Hoernig, "must be analyzed and systematized even more accurately" and scientists must be willing "courageously to enter new scientific territory."

The second article is written by Prof Hermann Klare, president of the GDR Academy of Sciences. The author discusses the significance and functions of basic research, its long-range development and international socialist cooperation.

The remaining two articles of this group of four deal with the problems of modern technology, cost reduction, improvement of working conditions, and the ever demanded "intensification" of production. The authors are Prof Gerhard Mueller of Wismar School of Engineering, on the one hand, and a trio, on the other, comprising a machine tool engineer (W. Bahmann) and two faculty members of the Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College (E. Boettger and K. Hartmann).

The second group comprising five major articles focuses on (1) the CPSU "peace program," disarmament and detente (by Prof Joachim Krueger, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence); (2) the relationship between democracy and the development of the socialist personality (by Gerwin Udke of Humboldt University and Gisela Kaderschafka of the Central Committee); (3) the objectives of research in the history of literature (by Professors Gerhard Ziegengeist and Dieter Schiller of the Central Institute for the History of Literature); (4) the process of bourgeois society's "deterioration" (by Prof Max Schmidt of the Institute for International Politics and Economics and the EINHEIT editorial board).

The fifth article in this group is a reprint from THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, published by the South African Communist Party (No 66, Third Quarter 1976). Its author, Ahmed Azad, scores the "hysterical campaign" allegedly being waged in Africa against Communists and the Soviet Union.

A special "Books" section in this EINHEIT issue carries two reviews. John Erpenbeck and Ulrich Roesenberg of the Central Institute for Philosophy write about a series of theoretical GDR publications on environmental problems. The second review deals with a book on the "function of literature," based on contributions to the May 1974 colloquium sponsored by the Central Institute for the History of Literature. The reviewers are three "aspirants" (doctoral candidates) at the Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences.

Translations and/or summaries of the above discussed articles and reviews are published in the pages following this report.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SCIENCE MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING TO BE IMPROVED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 10, Oct 76 signed to press 9 Sep 76
pp 1087-1094

[Article by Hannes Hoernig, chief, Science Department, SED Central
Committee: "Science and Scientists in Our Socialist Society"]

[Text] The promotion of science, its systematic and long-range development, belongs among the basic concerns of our party's policy. The article presents how this is expressed in the Ninth Party Congress documents and what the obligations are that arise for the scientists from these new and greater tasks. Proceeding from the explanation of the inseparable unity between socialism and science, and in confrontation with bourgeois theories that are hostile to science, the author proves that scientific-technical progress and social progress must go hand in hand if they are to be of benefit to the people.

Created in the process of man's active, productive-creative confrontation with nature and in consequence of the social division of labor, science more and more profoundly penetrates the developmental laws of nature and society. This process improves man's ability of utilizing laws once recognized for changing and improving his life. That applies particularly in the field of productive work. Science no doubt has a relative degree of independence on account of the dialectic relationship between cognition and application, theory and practice. It results, as intellectual production, from what is specifically scientific and expresses itself in its function within society and in the responsibility those who work in science bear toward society. What extends farther than anything in this dialectical relationship, however, always has been -- as the history of science has shown -- social practice. Science originated and developed out of the social needs grown on its basis. All its impulses come from social practice, and all its own data ultimately terminate in it. This is the sense in which science in all its disciplines -- in the collection and systematization of data as well as in the direct application of these data -- is to be understood, and carried into effect, as a creative-productive process.

If we want to understand the function of science in society properly, we must see it as an activity. Knowledge becomes science mainly through the theoretical generalizations drawn from experiences and data, from their systematization, from advancing and deepening those data, and from purposeful work dedicated to the discovery of heretofore unknown interconnections. That implies the constant search and discovery of new problems and questions.

As the work that produces material goods so science itself "is a social product from the very beginning and will remain one as long as men exist."¹ Its development is inseparably connected with the development of society, is part of the history of human society and thus also of the struggle for historical progress. Constantly trying to find new and more profound data for the purpose of ever better controlling the developmental laws of nature and society, it is revolutionary in essence and thus incompatible with stagnation and reaction.

This basic concern of science at once shapes its profoundly humanistic character. "Its activity always ought to be aimed at facilitating and improving the lives of men."² Science can live up to its revolutionary and humanistic cause only when it is borne by, and relies on, the most revolutionary class of society. Important data that would initiate new qualitative developments in science have always been fostered by that class which itself was interested in the transformation of existing social conditions.

In none of its developmental phases can science, as a specific form of activity, be separated from human society and its concrete economic, political and spiritual-cultural condition. On the contrary, its content and scope, its aim and its functions are determined by those very conditions, mainly by the economic and political power relations, and are thus in every way dependent on the society and its particular structure and development.

Socialism and Science -- Their Unity

With the elaboration and development of Marxism-Leninism, the discovery of the developmental laws of human society, it became possible also to provide a scientific answer to the question about the origin, essence and function of science, and to determine its role and task in enforcing social progress, especially in the creation of the communist form of society. Marx, Engels and Lenin thereby provided the theoretical foundations for a Marxist-Leninist science policy that serves the development of socialism, the well-being of the people and the development of science itself. Its data and our historic experiences indicate that only when the working class under the leadership by its Marxist-Leninist party has assumed the power and transferred the means of production into public property, science can fully live up to its revolutionary and humanistic cause.

This was entirely the meaning of Lenin's remark "that only socialism can free science from its bourgeois chains, from the yoke imposed by capitalism, and from its slavish dependence on the interests of dirty capitalist profit

greed."³ That is why, when the young Soviet power was only a few months old, amidst the most intense struggle against the counterrevolution and imperialist intervention, he demanded that science should be given every support, and he focused on attracting the best scientists in the country to helping in the construction of socialism and "turning the sum total of all knowledge stored up by capitalism into a tool of socialism."⁴

The development of science in the socialist countries, mainly the magnificent achievements of Soviet science, can persuasively demonstrate that scientific results can be used fully for the good of humanity only when they are not used for imperialist profit purposes but by socialist society for society.

The unity in their essence and goals makes socialism and science belong together. In this unity also lies the basis for the alliance of the workers class, the most revolutionary and best organized power of our epoch, with the scientific intelligentsia. When socialism does away with the opposition, outlined by Marx, between science and labor, which is typical of the antagonistic class society, a new, socialist relationship arises between science and production, between science and power.

Comrade Brezhnev explained the unity of socialism and science at the 25th CPSU Congress as follows: "We communists proceed from the consideration that the scientific-technical revolution can take the proper course that conforms to the interests of man and society only under the conditions of socialism. In turn, only on the basis of an accelerated development of science and technology can the ultimate task of the social revolution be solved and the communist society be established."⁵

In the GDR, the promotion of science has always been among the most important tasks of party and government policy. That has again been expressed in the SED Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress, in which Comrade Erich Honecker praised the important achievement of science toward the all round strengthening of our country and explained the tasks the solution of which will make the highest demands on all members of scientific institutions in coming years. He started out by saying that the development of science and technology had already become a process inseparably united with the improvement of the people's standard of living.⁶

Not only does science more and more pervade all areas of public life, science also has to make a significant contribution to establishing the inseparable bonds and reciprocal influences among all areas. The four tasks mentioned in the Central Committee report with respect to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress are in their totality the basis for far-reaching tasks in research and development and for the training of specialists.

The technical and technological science tasks are, of course, what meets the eye particularly in demands pertaining to the increase in intrinsic value, durability and functional safety of products, the design of highly productive technological processes or the elaboration of the state plan for

science and technology. And intrinsic value and the highest technical level are matters that, after all, are most clearly evident in the final product. The decisions on that, however, are made in many different stages of the development and production. Each developmental stage confronts science with questions and presents a challenge not only for responsible work to be done by the technical sciences but also by many branches of the natural and social sciences.

The ever stronger science penetration of all domains of public life is a process in which all scientific disciplines take part. That, however, also strengthens the trend of the reciprocal influences and dependence among them, of reinforcing the unity of science. "The objective basis for the unity of all sciences is the unity of their subject matter: the material world and its reflection in consciousness. As all sciences deal with the exploration of definite areas, forms of motion or interconnections of objective reality or its reflection in consciousness, the development of them must ultimately lead to a rapprochement of the various branches of science."⁷

The development conditions of socialist society and of scientific-technical progress, and the increasing integration of the science areas that is of necessity connected with it, require an ever closer cooperation among all science disciplines. Only through the consciously realized unity of the natural and social sciences can the fundamental dialectical connection between nature and society be brought fully to bear on the development of society through scientific work itself. The possibility for it exists only through the systematic construction of socialism under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

Under capitalism, the interests of capital prevent that unity. The contradiction between capital and labor, due to those property relations in the means of production, corresponds to the extremely pragmatic relationship with science, which is aimed at maximizing profits.

The Wolfish Law of Capitalism and Bourgeois Anti-Science Theories

Monopoly capitalism is objectively incapable of handling the economic and social processes and the developmental processes of science connected with them in the interest of human progress and for the benefit of all the people. And yet it is trying to expand its power over science in order to misuse science results for the sake of profits. Many different methods have been developed to that end. A special point deserves to be made here about the effort to introduce in scientific work the wolfish capitalist law of competition and of taking advantages. Instead of the objectively necessary unity of discipline we find here an organization of science teams under corporation control, rigidly set off from other colleagues working for other capitalist enterprises.

To maximize the profits, duplicating and multiple developments are deliberately permitted, which wastes scientific potentials. These anti-science efforts

are carried to extremes by the concrete tasks science has been given in thwarting technical progress. The Soviet scientist I. Zhdanov, for example, reports about an order given to a U.S. chemical corporation which must add a blending agent to a newly developed paint so that it can be used as paint only and not for the dyeing of fabrics.⁸

Quite a number of bourgeois ideologists are seeking to blame science for the ills of capitalism, to hold science responsible for the perplexity and inhumanity of the capitalist system. Their scale of "reproaches" is virtually inexhaustible. While some like to picture science and technology as an "excrescence of the human brain" lording it over man, others seek to prove that large science expenditures actually lead nowhere and science is not needed for men's happiness. The claim that science is "too expensive" makes the "capitalist spectacles" more obvious than anything. No doubt, the deeper and more comprehensive insights into nature and its application to progress do require vast material expenditures, and useable research results take long times to bear fruition. Given the capitalist criterion for maximal and fast profits, science becomes expensive because it requires great capital investments that take a long time to become profitable. That objective necessity is being circumvented by the monopolies in that they have the **largest** portion of the research, which carries great risks and calls for long-range development, financed through the state budget. And only the results are thereafter carried further and put to use in their own institutions or at their own expense. Which, of course, adds further burdens to be borne by the working people, the tax payers. And so, this "expensive" science eventually worsens the situation of the working classes.

Openly hostile to science are the theses by those bourgeois ideologists who condemn science itself as harmful and are blaming it, for example, for environmental pollution. The truth is, however, that again it is science which enables men to solve the environmental problems for their own good and benefit, whereas the profit drive of capitalist society not only frustrates those solutions, but further intensifies the contradictions of capitalist society that are reflected in the ecological problems. There is no other way to explain the poison refuse scandals in the FRG, for example, or the poison gas disaster in Seveso, Italy.

Those and other theories opposed to science are no help to solving the problems and contradictions which come in the wake of scientific-technical progress under monopoly capitalist conditions. Scientific-technical progress must be combined with social progress, if it is to be of benefit to the people. Science in the hands of capital opposes the all round utilization of scientific results and thus, social progress.

Alliance for the Benefit of the People

"SED policy aims at systematic and long-range development of science, so that its progressive and humanistic character can be brought fully to bear."⁹ That point made in the SED program defines the basic trend in the promotion

of science, which at the same time is the demand it makes on itself. Based on long-range conceptions, in the elaboration of which the scientists and engineers had a decisive share, the members of the intelligentsia in close cooperation with workers and cooperative farmers, significantly contribute to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and to the further improvement of our people's working and living conditions, whereby they accomplish "important achievements for the solution of current and future tasks of high social rank."¹⁰ Through this collaboration the alliance between the working class and the intelligentsia is being strengthened. The Ninth Party Congress documents explain the role and substance of this alliance between the working class and the intelligentsia in view of the new and more demanding tasks.

For one thing it is characterized by the leadership role the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party play in all domains of social development. The establishment of the socialist order makes the contradictions existing under capitalism, between science and the people, and between the intelligentsia and the working class, disappear.

Through the ever closer bond between science and production, a new and active relationship develops between working class and intelligentsia, based on the foundation of the public property in the means of production, the socialist power relations and their identical basic interests resulting therefrom. It is expressed not only in their mutual understanding but mainly in their joint actions. This new relationship, which can arise only under socialist conditions, is felt not only in the sphere of material production, as for instance in the relations workers and cooperative farmers form with engineers and economic scientists. It expresses itself in all public areas and includes the physician, the teacher, the social scientist, and it significantly helps the artistic intelligentsia in making its important contribution to the shaping of our socialist life and to the development of the socialist way of life.

Secondly, the alliance is marked by the allocation of extensive means for the all round and systematic promotion of the sciences in the GDR. Year after year there is an increase in the proportion of national revenue allocated for the development of science and technology. Steadily rising scientific achievements at the same time justify the great confidence the socialist society places in science. Joint interests in scientific-technical progress and in the production effectiveness of scientific data characterize the need for the development of all science areas.

Thirdly the alliance is marked by the fact "that in the last 3 decades most of the intelligentsia could be recruited mainly from the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers. By origin and in the way it works, it is intimately alined with the working class, the cooperative farmers and the other working people."¹¹

Our party pays much attention to fostering this alliance which has proven itself so much in our socialist society as a decisive source of strength for the development of the creative potentials of the working class and the intelligentsia in every way.

New and Higher Tasks Are Posed

SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker was in the position to report to the Ninth Party Congress on the great successes in the development of our spiritual-cultural life. Especially important here are -- also in respect of the direct effect they have on steadily raising and improving the production -- the results achieved in the education and training of our youth and in the all round training of the working people. The demand raised by Erich Honecker in connection with the intensification of production for the "ever more effective development of the working people's creative abilities"¹² confronts all educational institutions and organizations with new tasks. To science this means readying the "structure of science" for the people's education, mainly for youth education, and arousing and activating through that the joy in creative work. At the same time, decisive contributions have to be made to the drawing up of teaching plans and to improving teaching methods and the development of textbooks and means of instruction. The education and constant training of youth and of the working people become a scientific task in socialism, in the solution of which scientists of all disciplines are involved.

And then, the scientists and their associates have to come up with great achievements at the universities, colleges and technical schools in our republic in the training and education of a new generation of scientists in all areas of society. The constant search and exploration of deeper insights into the developmental laws of nature and society and their application to work and life combine at these educational institutions in an outstanding manner with the training and education of new generations of scientists who "command sound specialized scientific knowledge and highly developed political knowledge, are closely aligned with the working class and its party, and are willing and able to apply what they learned in their studies in their occupational work and to assume responsibility."¹³

The Ninth Party Congress has emphasized the great responsibility science has for the steady improvement of working and living conditions in our country. A special point deserves to be made here of the tasks that have to be solved along with the further implementation of scientific-technical progress and, above all, with the intensification of production.

The acceleration of scientific-technical progress -- as Comrade Erich Honecker underscored at the Second Central Committee session -- is the key question for the improvement of performance during the Five-Year Plan. To accomplish the scientific work required for it necessitates in the science area itself the implementation of measures for increasing the efficiency and for the intensification of labor. This makes it necessary to develop further and to

improve the management and planning of scientific work. In the cooperative work of the science areas and a still closer connection of science with all areas of public life, especially of course with material production, significant reserves can still be tapped for the efficiency of scientific work. In the field of material production, certain material and also ideological premises must of course still be laid in order further to deepen the line-up of science - technology - production - society.

Important studies have recently been published on these matters. In order to improve the effectiveness of science more rapidly, however, the work process in science must be analyzed and systematized even more accurately, and better and more concrete criteria have to be found for scientific work and for science development all around. Ultimately however it will be of decisive importance that each scientist himself and every associate at the science institutions -- imbued with the spirit of his own responsibility and with joy in scientific work -- will make his own creative contribution, work with much energy in providing new data and care for a speedy application of his work results for the benefit of the socialist society. That means recognizing the social benefits as an essential criterion of scientific work and, along with the needed willingness courageously to enter new scientific territory, also drawing on a necessary measure of economic, technological and social science data for evaluating one's own work.

Every scientist ought to try to penetrate his own field more and more deeply while at the same time to acquire a large interdisciplinary overall view in order to properly place his own work and to be able to learn from his "neighbor" too. With the requirement for exploring large complexes in production, in science itself and in society, there grows the demand for interdisciplinary research teams that can work on those complexes in their entirety.

Great importance in this connection attaches to close cooperation, down to work on joint research projects -- as set down in the plans -- with CEMA scientists, especially those of the Soviet Union. That gives our scientists the obligation to become familiar with the latest science data of the socialist countries, properly analyze them and use them for their own work, in order to be able to make a still more effective contribution to the fulfillment of the common tasks.

Interdisciplinary research poses tasks for a large number of science disciplines and places the highest demands on an individual scientist. High technical skills and interdisciplinary know-how coupled with a critical attitude toward one's own work, readiness for science debate and the will to contribute actively to the consolidation and development of the research collective, and the willingness and ability of using new data for one's own work -- those are some of the characteristics that are wanted.

At the universities, colleges and technical schools, the scientist also functions as teacher and educator, along with being a researcher. In addition to conveying knowledge and involving the students in the scientific work process at an early time, he must help shape, mainly through his personal example, the characteristics of socialist scientists in the students. Yet also for the scientists who are not working at educational institutions it is an important task always to pass on what they know. For that there are, apart from teaching at universities, colleges and technical schools and lectures given in the enterprises, many other possibilities, for instance, in science societies, in the Chamber of Technology sections and in 'Urania.'

What ultimately becomes the decisive source of strength for the work and all round development of everyone engaged in the sciences, however, in our socialist society, is his bond with the working class, with the everyday struggle of the working people for fulfilling the plans and for the further improvement of the people's working and living conditions and the all round strengthening of our socialist homeland.

The implementation of the Ninth Party decisions thus far in the field of science demonstrates that the road taken for a close and inseparable connection between scientific work and the practical application of its data for strengthening socialism releases great scientific capacities. The goals and tasks for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and for the gradual transition to communism are staked out. Based on the good results of their work and the great willingness of the scientists, and borne by the confidence of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, science in the GDR is in every way qualified for performing its great contribution to the solution of the new and higher tasks for the benefit of the people.

FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke" (Works), Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 31.
2. Kurt Hager, "Wissenschaft und Technologie im Sozialismus" (Science and Technology in Socialism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 15.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the First Congress of Economic Soviets," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, pp 407-408.
4. Ibid., p 408.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 58-59.
6. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 73.

7. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p 31.
8. Cf. I. Zhdanov, "Lenin und die Naturwissenschaft" (Lenin and the Natural Sciences), Urania publishing house, Leipzig/Jena, 1960, p 8.
9. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 45.
10. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 91.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p 71.
13. Ibid., p 95.

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EAST GERMANY

SIGNIFICANCE AND FUNCTIONS OF BASIC RESEARCH DISCUSSED

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[Article by Prof Dr Hermann Klare, president, GDR Academy of Sciences:
"Basic Research--Basis of Scientific-Technical Progress"]

[Text] Embedded in the overall strategy of the working class party is the strategy on basic research. What tasks and functions does it have to fulfill in our society? How does it insure its scientific head start? In answering these questions this article also explains the importance of this cooperative effort extending all the way from the search for knowledge down to production itself, it shows the need for deepening the international socialist research cooperation and explains how a higher productivity and a better quality of scientific work can be achieved.

The program demand of the Ninth Party Congress on developing basic research as a source of new data on inevitable connections in nature and society, on behalf of long-range decisions in economic and scientific development,¹ above all pursues the goal of bringing into full effect the progressive influence and humanistic character of science. The basic research strategy is thus embedded in the overall strategy of the working class party which thereby can then in its policy depend on the head start needed for scientific knowledge.

The general goal of basic research lies in making use of the possibilities and results of scientific work systematically for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and thus, for creating the material-technical and the spiritual cultural foundations for the gradual transition to communism, whereby to make available to socialist society a theoretical head start for an efficient solution of problems in all its spheres of life and all its developmental phases.

Basic research, accordingly, is the foundation on which scientific-technical progress rests and is implemented -- by use of the advantages of the socialist social order. For it, the forms and possibilities of combining science with production that are characteristic of socialism must be fully tapped and made effective, and the capabilities and the willingness for performance on the part of those who are working in research, increased. The strategic orientation of basic research furthermore aims at an ever closer cooperation, based on the division of labor, among the states of the socialist community. So it serves the deepening and ever broader expansion of socialist economic integration in pursuance of the implementation of the CEMA complex program.

Task and Functions of Basic Research in Our Society

Proceeding from the social requirements, basic research has the task, through new data on thus far not known, or insufficiently known, inevitable objective interconnections in nature and society, and through a targeted tapping and utilization of all the knowledge available in the world, to become a source for new or better possibilities for producing energy and for new or better working materials, substances and principles, technologies, procedures, machines, installations and methods; to contribute to the further development of scientific basic research for an efficient management of social development processes; to help strengthen the unity of the socialist community of states and its political, economic, military and cultural foundations; to contribute to strengthening the peaceful coexistence among states with differing social systems; to create important preconditions for the further development of the sciences, the educational system and the people's educational level, whereby to promote the spiritual-cultural development of socialist society and, ultimately, the formation of all round developed socialist personalities; and to make an appropriate contribution to the development of science and culture in the world while preserving our cultural and scientific legacy and our progressive traditions.

The academies of sciences and the universities and colleges are the main agencies engaged in natural science and mathematics basic research and in the basic research for selected technical fields. They have the responsibility for the elaboration, implementation and coordination of these tasks. Closely connected with them is the industrial basic research in specific branches which must entail all those fields that cannot, for reasons of magnitude or utility, be handled by the academies or academic institutions.

Proceeding from the social necessity for constantly expanding and deepening the cognition of the world in its material unity, for systematically and consistently developing the scientific foundations for using science data for satisfying social needs, and for assuring the scientist's responsibility to making his research effective in social practice, the following three functions of basic research emerge, which must be insured in unity.

First: Investigation of fundamental problems for gaining new knowledge of fundamental inevitable interconnections in nature and society. They must mainly be carried out on the periphery of knowledge already established. The results must constantly be tested in terms of their potential use, and usable results and partial results, translated as rapidly and directly as possible into social applications.

Second: Creation of a scientific head start, mainly in the more promising areas of research, on the basis of which timely decisions can then be made with respect to further scientific and economic development. This must mainly be directed toward elaborating scientific foundations for the development and industrial application of new or improved technologies, procedures, products and methods.

Third: Implementation of an application-oriented basic research by use of the scientific head start for the solution of concretely assigned economic or other social targets in socialist production, the improvement of working and living conditions, and the protection of man's health and environment.

This strategic requirement makes it necessary to engage in basic research also in industry and other areas of the economy -- in the main branches primarily -- and to develop it wherever it is insufficiently developed. This poses an important prerequisite for the desired labor efficiency in these areas. Effective and coordinated basic research cooperation in the academy, universities, colleges, industry and other areas of the economy must be insured in particular with a view to utilizing the results in terms of all three functions.

The responsibility by industry and other areas of the economy must -- in proceeding from their reproduction process -- mainly be concentrated on the third of the three functions. That implies a discriminating participation in, and an influence on, the second of the three functions. The responsibility of the academy of sciences and the universities and colleges finds its major emphasis in the first two functions. The academy of sciences, universities and colleges, in working on tasks spelled out under the third function, must concentrate, in close cooperation with the users of the results, mainly on such as would directly connect with the head start they provided for themselves. That is why basic research must be carried out not only by academies, universities and colleges but also becomes an indispensable component of industrial research.

An important prerequisite for the effectiveness of basic research as the basis for scientific-technical progress is that it is carried out in continuity and systematically within an adequately wide research space, so that the needed reservoir of new data can be maintained. From this must be derived appropriate tasks for the economically most advantageous solutions and with the aim of a rapid and extensive social use.

As the results of basic research cannot be planned with the same degree of certainty as those of applied research or of technical development, it must mainly be the decisive scientific targets and research trends, the tasks derived therefrom and the development of research potentials and the creation of favorable conditions for the development of the scientists' creative capacities that become object of long-range planning.

And here the permanent coordination on trends, aims and requirements within the framework of the international research cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA states must insure a high degree of scientific objectivity.

Basic Research Secures a Strategic Scientific Head Start

The history of science and the most recent past demonstrate that specific areas of basic research often are especially productive and lead to new and unexpected results. Examples of this are organic chemistry before and after the turn of the century, atomic physics in the first 30 years of the 20th century, polymeric science between 1920 and 1950, and nuclear physics and biology in the last 30 to 40 years. Many other examples could be added to this list.

No less a person than Helmholtz already dealt with this subject, and what he said about it was this: "Whatever tells us something about the forces of nature or the forces of the human mind is valuable and can bring benefits in time, usually at a point where we would have least expected it." He points to Galvani's experiments with frog legs and rightly says that "no one probably had imagined that 80 years later Europe would have wires all over transmitting news at a rapid pace. Had they been abandoned because the reactions (the twitching of the frog legs) seemed to promise no benefits, physics today would lack the most important and interesting conjunction of various natural forces with one another. Complete knowledge and a complete understanding of how the forces of nature and of the mind work are matters that only science can pursue."² Put it briefly, this means we may not deny that any "correct" scientific result could sooner or later acquire practical importance.

In this basic scientific work, the relationship between knowledge acquired from experiments and its theoretical interpretation plays an important role. "Above all," as Max Planck explained it in a lecture he gave in 1941 on the meaning and limits of exact science, "for the last century, experiment and theory have come to be divided. He who makes the experiment stands in the front rank. It is he who carries out the decisive tests and measures. An experiment means asking nature a question, and the measure then taken is tantamount to the answer given by nature. But before one engages in an experiment one must conceive of it, that is, formulate the question to be addressed to nature, and prior to making use of the measure taken, it must be interpreted, that is, one has to understand the answer given by nature. These are the two tasks with which the theoretician deals, who therefore more and more has to make use of abstract mathematical means. Which does of course not mean that the one who experiments, by that token, does not engage also in theoretical thought."³

The decisive criterion of science, according to Bernal, is the "creative discovery." "The core of the problem lies in how one assures the conditions that are needed for materially advancing the science as well as for being able to find new facts. Splitting science into two parts, one applied, a matter of routine, and the other one pure, or free, is no solution. As these are none but two aspects of the same organism, as for example seeing and motion, it would lead nowhere. The history of science demonstrates that in all developmental phases new aspects of nature were discovered in the very process of solving practical problems, and vice versa, and that practice wilts and withers unless it is revitalized, time and again, by abstract thought."⁴

The task of science in reviving practice through abstract thought is what fundamental research is all about. In a word, it is what we call basic research.

This basic research, the concentrated, long-range investigation of fundamental problems -- as we have said -- occupies the center of the academy's work. Now there is of course nothing neutral in the basic research a socialist academy engages in. Its specific field of requirements can effectively be related to the need by social practice for applicable results precisely because in determining its main research trends it must start from the needs of socialist society, which are of a long range nature. This principle of productive reciprocity between a strategically oriented basic research and social practice has been gained from the experiences of socialist science development.⁵ Party and government therefore regard as an inviolable principle that science grows in importance to the extent that it accepts the problems generated by objective social development.

The importance and value of basic research mainly depend on the strategic scientific head start it can provide and on how it helps us satisfy not only the currently existing needs of society but even those which will originate while we are further shaping the developed socialist society and thereby create the preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.⁶

This field of requirements can be effectively related with the current practical social need for applicable results for the very reason that the practical requirements socialist society has, and through which the main lines of basic research are determined in the first place, are of a long-range character themselves. This provides a high degree of certainty that from the basic results of research, applications can on a continuing basis always be derived for medium and short-term social problems. And all this basic research, not last, also determines the style of thought, develops new scientific working methods and constantly expands the scope of scientific knowledge, in that it to a large extent starts out from completely new ideas. It creates the fundamental preconditions for progressive mental work, in whatever form and wherever it is noted. Mainly basic research it is that experimentally and theoretically establishes new working procedures. Technology and applied research, on the other hand, are the ones that pose the questions for basic research, and it, so challenged, answers and, by those comprehensive answers it gives, normally far transcends the questions it was asked, thus providing more knowledge than it had originally been asked to provide.

Technical progress relies more and more on the application of the laws of the material world as discovered by science. These discoveries, the outcome of basic research, are what makes for important changes in production. And thus, to mention only one examples, it is by means of intensive physics and chemistry research into the atomic, molecular and crystalline structure of matter alone that substances of unique property and a high intrinsic value can be produced without which a satisfaction of men's growing needs -- even with respect to the many objects of daily use -- would be inconceivable.

What has been said up to this point explains the great responsibility given to the natural and social scientists, and it also shows the reason for the great respect they are accorded by the party and government leadership.

Proceeding from the utterances cited at the beginning of this chapter by such important natural scientists as Helmholtz, Planck and Bernal (which incidentally could be multiplied by many similar statements from equally renowned researchers elsewhere), and in view of the preceding explanation of the tasks, targets and importance of basic research, it would almost seem to be superfluous to refute notions that underrate the need for, and the results of, basic, mainly theoretical, research. Yet since such utterances still have not been silenced -- even the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. P. Aleksandrov, took issue with them at the 25th CPSU Congress⁷ -- it is worth stressing once more that scientific-technical progress would be in jeopardy without long-range experimental and theoretical basic research based on new ideas. Top industrial products and high-grade consumer goods can be assured, as needed on a continuing basis, only as long as the knowledge, production procedures and technologies needed for them are in a smoothly flowing manner based on previous basic research and the applied and developmental work derived from it. And if still another crown witness be needed, one should be reminded of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, who brought to mind at the 25th CPSU Congress that there was nothing more practical than a good theory.

Cooperative Work All the Way, From the Search for Knowledge to Production

Of decisive importance for efficiency in science and technology is a correct and careful structuring, proportioning and interlinking of the available and the newly to be developed research and development potentials, especially those that deal with the foundations for technical processes and technology. And here one must have a cooperation, as smooth as possible, between basic research, applied research, development, designing, projection and production in the most important fields because otherwise we would not be able to meet the growing demands which the introduction of most modern production techniques and procedures makes on us. And that is why the party program makes the demand that greater attention must be given to technology as a science,⁸ since scientific-technical progress becomes productive and effective through technology and the technological level reached.

Our technology embraces all scientific data and practical experiences of the production processes that are needed for the development and production of new or improved products.⁹ Through new scientific data, basic research establishes appropriate working procedures and technological processes. It is therefore part of an important task for the academy and the academic system to engage in technological research together with industry in order to gain new application-oriented and experimentally sound mathematical, physical, chemical, biological and social science data, control complicated processes in metabolism and power production and utilization and develop, on that basis, appropriate products, scientific working methods and the needed equipment. And all these problems must largely be solved through cooperative work all the way from the exploration of data via procedural or production technology down to the processing and utilization of products.

The development of socialist cooperative work is among the priority tasks in the intensification of scientific work.¹⁰ The Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress says about this that such cooperative work is becoming more important so that one can work more vigorously, in mathematics and natural science research, on the principles and the complex solutions in the interest of a long-range scientific head start which also is concentrated on the economically and socially decisive processes.¹¹ The starting point for this lies in selecting prudently and carefully considered research tasks fitting in with the possibilities and preconditions existing in our country and responsive to the highest demands such as would permit us to expect outstanding basic as well as rapidly applicable results in the natural and social sciences. This will create further foundations for the development of socialist society, scientific-technical progress and science itself.

Further Deepening of International Socialist Research Cooperation

With the conception of a long-range development for basic research until 1990 and with the Marxist-Leninist social science plan 1976-1980 -- though they must still be rendered more precise and be supplemented -- the research strategy to be followed has been authoritatively staked out, and a basic research profile has been established for the academy and academic institutions that meets the essential requirements for scientific and social progress.

For its implementation, the division of labor and cooperation among the scientific institutions in our republic must be systematically further developed, and that also includes international scientific cooperation.¹² It is one of the worthiest tasks of management here to provide the deepening needed in the process of socialist cooperative work. And that also applies to the shaping of the management process itself. For in as much as the most important principle for the management of the party, with its basis in the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, is collectivity, then this principle must also be applied more and more to the management of science, mainly of basic research. Thus, when a conference is called for solving science problems, the experienced manager should mainly act in the role of first among his peers without having his personal responsibility cut back.

Main effort tasking in shaping the international relations lies in the further intensification and effectiveness of international research cooperation through division of labor, based on the complex program and the ever closer relations among the countries of the socialist community.

The bilateral as well as multilateral relations among the academies of the socialist countries could be further developed in recent years. It may be recalled that a qualitatively new phase in the development of research cooperation was introduced through the Ninth Conference of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries, held in November last year in Berlin, and through the bilateral agreements for the period 1976-1980. The guideline for it lies in the unity of research planning in one's own country and the planning for international research cooperation in substantive terms, as already pursued through the discussion, particularly with Soviet partners, of national research projects, but also through each bilateral and multilateral agreement concluded. The growing number of cooperative research projects clearly testifies to the development made in recent years. Whereas in 1970, there were only slightly more than 100 research subjects in the works involving partnership institutions in the USSR, that number last year had risen to 260 projects being worked on in cooperation with Soviet academic institutions. Such development is a basic prerequisite for effectiveness in academic research. Only the support from, and the cooperation with, the Soviet Academy makes possible successful work on such scientific complexes as nuclear research, high-energy physics, principles of computer technology and so forth. All institutes of our Academy of Sciences are today cooperating, on the basis of contractual relations, with partner institutions in the USSR.

The degree of concentration and of the division of labor was further raised for the planning period 1976-1980. The interlinking of efficient research potentials is being advanced step by step. While proven forms of bilateral cooperation are being maintained, multilateral cooperation is receiving a stronger development, and new ways constantly have to be found and taken toward improving the efficiency and performance levels of the research collectives. It is precisely that concern which forms the decisive precondition for high efficiency in international socialist research cooperation, for wherever performance and efficiency are above average, the cooperation with international partners becomes especially prominent and productive.

Higher Productivity and Quality of Scientific Work

The long-range conceptions and programs of GDR science form a sure foundation for further streamlining research. At the same time, all scientists are urged to participate in further qualifying these far-reaching documents in accordance with the changing conditions of social practice and the growth in scientific knowledge. The basic clue is provided for it by the major efforts in basic research in natural sciences, technology and mathematics as set down in the directive of the Ninth SED Congress on the Five-Year Plan for the development of the GDR economy, 1976-1980.

A priority task for the future shape of basic research in particular, and of research in general, lies in the careful training and selection of creative socialist science personalities. Sometimes, to be sure, the opinion is expressed that the greatest importance lies in the equipment and installations in the laboratories. That is not quite so, I think, because the development of a high theoretical and experimental research level always has its origin in the knowledge, skill and thought and, not last, in the creative intuitions of people. Among a scientist's expertise lies his ability in using modern sets of instruments for the benefit of his research activity. Of course, we must be in command of such instruments. As there are limits to the new equipment we can acquire, however, the expansion of the technical aggregates in scientific laboratories must be combined with prudent thought about how to concentrate on, and best use, the available and newly acquired equipment and apparatuses.

The president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and member of the academy, A. P. Aleksandrov, explained at the 25th CPSU Congress¹³ that in the natural sciences, and most recently also partly in the social sciences, the productivity and quality of the work decisively depend on how much of the modern highly productive automatic laboratory equipment and computer technology is made available to research. Great results could no longer be achieved by means of obsolete equipment. That statement surely implies that the demands made on the intellectual abilities of the scientists are growing and that a high degree of knowledge, skill and ethics must exist because the qualitative factors have primacy over the quantitative. Today, and less so in the future, therefore, one can no longer merely get along on such typical characteristics scientists are known to have as diligence, imagination, intuition, the passion for knowledge, the search for success and healthy ambition in research. More than ever must they stand on the sure, unified ideological foundation of Marxism-Leninism, because from there all the insights come to the collectives and individuals which they at every moment must testify to in what they do and want to do as educated socialist human beings. This includes empathy, a collegiate attitude, humility and understanding for the cares of others, and the realization of the extent to which their own exemplary stance depends on their party-mindedness in favor of the cause of socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 45.
2. Cited in W. Albring, "Thoughts by Helmholtz on Creative Impulses and on the Cooperation of Various Branches of Science," SITZUNGSBERICHTE DES PLENUMS UND DER KLASSEN DER AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN DER DDR, Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1972, No 1, 1972.
3. Max Planck, "Wege zur physikalischen Erkenntnis" (Roads to Physical Knowledge), Vol 2, S. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1943.

4. J. D. Bernal, "Die Wissenschaft in der Geschichte" (Science in History), VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1961, p 869.
5. Cf. Horst Sindermann, "Research by Social Requirement," SPEKTRUM, No 9, 1975, p 9.
6. Cf. Kurt Hager, "Sozialismus und wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution" (Socialism and the Scientific-Technical Revolution), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 45.
7. PRESSE DER SOWJETUNION, No 10, 1976, p 88.
8. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," loc. cit., p 46.
9. Cf. Kurt Hager, "Wissenschaft und Technologie im Sozialismus" (Science and Technology in Socialism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 54.
10. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," loc. cit., p 47.
11. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 92.
12. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," loc. cit., p 47.
13. Cf. PRESSE DER SOWJETUNION, No 10, 1976, p 87.

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EAST GERMANY

JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY, SOCIALIST PERSONALITY DISCUSSED

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[Article by Dr Gerwin Udke, lecturer in jurisprudence, Humboldt University, East Berlin; and Gisela Kaderschafka, sector head in SED Central Committee: "Democracy and Personality Development in Our Society"]

[Text] As from an inexhaustible source, the creative forces of the working people are being tapped throughout the process of the development and perfecting of socialist democracy, their abilities unfold, and their talents reveal themselves and develop. This article concentrates on the relations between the democratic exercise of power and the development of socialist personality and on the demonstration that especially through socialist competition new initiatives are given birth to on a massive basis and the creativity of the people is being challenged and encouraged.

The SED policy, aimed at the well-being of the people, and the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress have, especially in recent months and weeks, provided new impulse and impetus for thousands of socialist brigades and collectives, and for hundreds of thousands of old and young citizens to give thought to what they personally could do so that we will all efficiently advance together toward the realization of the goals posed by the Ninth Party Congress. Many prudent ideas were born in the election movement and were translated into action. New initiatives and many different activities crystallized in concrete obligations and are bringing out creative achievements of great economic and social usefulness.

In this process of common struggle for the fulfillment of the economic, political and cultural tasks of the Ninth Party Congress, in the daily life of our republic Lenin's remark is convincingly being confirmed to the effect that only socialism creates the possibility "for leading the majority of the working people into a field of activity where they can excel, develop their abilities and manifest those talents that the people, as an inexhaustible source, produces and which capitalism squashed, suppressed and squelched by the thousands and millions."¹

Socialist personalities who responsibly participate in the further shaping of the developed socialist society, the creativity of the working people, can develop in our republic principally also because here the respect for the dignity of man is the supreme law. Among us, the human rights are realized, the rights to work, education and recreation are fully guaranteed, society offers equal opportunities for all, and there are no barriers to the development of personality.²

The fundamental difference between the life people lead in capitalism and in socialism is based on the fact that in our socialist society the political and economic power lies in the hands of the working class. In that sense, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in the Ninth Party Congress report: "Power comes first and foremost. Without power, the working class and its allies could not have transformed the decisive means of production into public property or established the foundations of socialism. And also for being able to fulfill the main task for the good of all the people it needs secure power."³

With the working class, for the first time in history, a force has arisen for which power becomes the means for liberating mankind from exploitation and suppression and for constructing the classless, communist society. Under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, the working class thus systematically applies its economic and political power to involving all working people more and more in the exercise of power, enabling them to shape the social conditions in the interest and for the benefit of the people, in conformity with the objective developmental requirements of socialism. "Socialist democracy -- that is, first and foremost, the sovereign and direct exercise of power by the working people united around the working class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party."⁴

Exercise of Power and Socialist Personality Development

The truly humanistic act through which the antagonism between power and the working people that is characteristic of the exploiter society is overcome and in the course of which the creative forces of the working people are released and they become the conscious architects of all areas of their public life, takes place in the process of the development and perfecting of socialist democracy. On the basis of the public ownership of the means of production then, the socialist social relations are further developed with man, with his material and spiritual-cultural needs, standing in the center of it.

The conscious participation in the development and perfecting of socialist democracy is an element of those revolutionary practical actions in socialism through which, as Marx put it in his theses on Feuerbach, the changing of conditions coincides with the changes in men. Throughout the process of the democratic exercise of power, the individual takes part in shaping his social environment and thereby changes himself. Taking part in the management and planning of state and economy makes high demands on the individual, due to the growing complications and greater complexities of the tasks to be solved

in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Regardless of the form such participation takes, be it on a state or industrial level, or be it a matter of having to decide economic, political, ideological or cultural questions or solving such tasks, it more and more requires of the individual knowledge of and insights into social inevitabilities, political interconnections and thus, political awareness. Such awareness is based on a firm socialist class point of view, on the knowledge about the inevitabilities in our epoch, on the knowledge of the direction pointed out by the Marxist-Leninist party and the personal conviction that it is the right direction. It develops and reinforces itself through the active participation in the preparation and implementation of measures for the fulfillment of the social objectives, for the realization of the humanist concern of our socialist society. Political awareness, grounded in Marxism-Leninism and matured throughout the process of the democratic exercise of power, at once grants the individual an ever better comprehension for the historically new role and position of man in socialism. All that helps him develop his talents and skills, by his knowing of his responsibility to socialist society, so that he will ever more consciously and expertly carry out that responsibility and develop his personality.

Participation in the democratic exercise of power also calls for a high measure of expertise. The implementation of scientific-technical progress, rationalization, increasing the efficiency of labor, of the quality of products and so forth place high demands on technical knowledge and skills. Without them, no one can help decide how one's own collective is to manage the tasks and problems confronting one's enterprise. Numerous impulses for higher qualifications and for expanding one's own knowledge thus arise from the need for a democratic influence on the solution of economically important tasks. The desire for advanced education -- an important factor in personality development -- is however encouraged not only through the needs for creative participation in one's own field of occupation. It also gets decisive impulses through the democratic participation in the many different social organizations and bodies. Work in local people's representations, National Front committees, club advisory boards and so forth expands one's field of vision, implies dealing with the most diverse problems and calls for acquiring new data and knowledge. One might mention here merely the thousands of working people working in the standing committees on health and social affairs, for instance, or on order and safety, or for trade and supply services, for which they all must increase their own knowledge or constantly update it. That also applies to many citizens whose work on the parents' advisory councils induces them to come to grips with pedagogic problems and who therefore make themselves more familiar with the objectives and tasks of our socialist educational policy.

Precisely in that the socialist exercise of democracy stimulates the working people to constantly expand their political and technical knowledge one can see the great importance this has for personality development.

But something else has to be said when one talks about the personality shaping role of democracy. Socialist production relations as relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, in order to be further shaped and perfected,

require consciously organized and collective actions by the working people. Such cooperation within the work collective among workers, cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia and of other strata, by representatives of the various parties and different occupations, within the process of the democratic exercise of power, is a typical characteristic of life in our socialist society. It becomes a personal need for more and more working people. And there is a good reason for that. After all, it is becoming ever more visible for everyone how much that cooperation increases his own strength and enriches his own life. Marx already made the statement that only in society the individual finds the means for developing his gifts and talents in every way. This insight by Marx becomes vivid reality for the individual through the collective exchange of experience, the struggle for finding the best solutions for new tasks and problems, in the process of criticism and self-criticism -- and mainly by his being constantly challenged by his collective to work at his best, with creativity and rich initiatives. Through socialist cooperation within the work collective and social organizations the individual finds out for himself that he can develop his creative capabilities all the more, the richer the relations are that he forms with society.

Through the realization of the unity of the economic and social policy as expressed in the main task formulated by the Eighth and the Ninth Party Congresses, the meaning and purpose of socialism become ever more comprehensible for every worker. An individual discovers in his daily work and personal life that the economic and social objectives take their clues from the interests of the working people and that their realization serves the systematic development of the economy and the ever better satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual-cultural needs. Everyone discovers in practice that his achievements affect the decision on having social conditions further developed and on opening greater possibilities for the working people for "developing their skills and talents, their whole personality."⁵ At the same time he finds out that the work he performs to increase social wealth serves the growth of security and safety for all working people. This personal experience decisively reinforces the confidence the working people have in the working class party and their socialist state. That in turn is an important basis for consciously assuming a personal responsibility to society, so that the manifold participation by the citizens in the management of our state and our economy becomes more and more a determining characteristic of life in our socialist society.

Socialist Competition -- Source of Creativity and New Initiatives

In the fulfillment of the tasks posed by the Ninth SED Congress, more and more importance attaches to socialist democracy in the economic field, in material production. Through material production the working people augment social wealth. Here through their joint efforts they create the material preconditions under which all citizens can live in safe, orderly and secure circumstances. Here they shape further, in implementation of party policy, the foundation for perfecting socialist democracy in all spheres of life.

And here also those socialist personality attitudes develop which insure our further successfully coping with the noble aims of our socialist development. The developmental level reached through the shaping of the developed socialist society is the basis for having the role and responsibility of socialist personalities in consciously mastering the labor processes grow further.

The most important organizational form becoming effective with the mass initiative by the working people for reinforcing our state's economic strength and for an increasingly better satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual-cultural needs lies in socialist competition. Through socialist competition, the working people participate directly in management and planning and, through socialist intensification, help significantly in a smoothly flowing and dynamic development of our economy. Socialist competition thus is an important form of the democratic exercise of power by the working people as the owners and producers of material wealth.

Socialist competition challenges and encourages the skills and knowledge, the sense of responsibility and the creative abilities of the working class and the other working classes and strata for the benefit of society and of each individual. This competition reveals the working people's ideas and recommendations for improving the labor productivity, and reserves are utilized here that have their source in our joint efforts on the basis of socialist production relations, in comradely, mutual aid, and in the exchange of experiences.

High achievement it is in our society that determines the growth of the productive forces, which then also lays the foundations for social progress. With the socialist work collectives struggling, through socialist competition, mainly for accelerating scientific-technical progress, improving the materials economy, enforcing the principle of economizing, and for better quality, durability and reliability of products, important preconditions are created for realizing the far-reaching sociopolitical SED program. The manifold competition obligations and initiatives released by the Ninth Party Congress are based precisely on the experience that our republic's economic stabilization and improvement in performance must always pursue the goal of steadily raising the people's material and cultural standard of living.

Socialist competition after the Ninth Party Congress continues under the slogan "More intrinsic value from every Mark, every working hour, every ounce of material!" The turning point and focal point here is the further intensification of production. In recent months, the way of intensification has become a matter of vivid experience for millions of working people. The best results have been achieved wherever managers and trade unions made visible the strategic importance of our intensification and also could explain that this was a matter of a spiritual penetration of the labor processes and of solutions leading to higher labor productivity and efficiency. Great competition initiatives are reached wherever a broad participation by the working people in management and planning is assured, where work collectives are thoroughly informed about the

tasks and the critical recommendations and suggestions made by the working people are utilized. The working people's new competition initiatives are based in the trust that connects the people with the party. They rely on the agreement with the tasks established by the Ninth Party Congress, on the experience that the party's economic-political course benefits the working people. In the plan discussions at enterprise conferences the working people therefore confer on how they can still more effectively contribute to an increase in economic achievement, to consolidating the economic strength of our country. They are drawing conclusions from these principles: We can only consume what we first have produced! He who wants to buy a good quality must first produce a good quality!

An important criterion of the competition after the Ninth Party Congress lies in the general rules drawn from the experiences of the best. The broad manner of implementing the work in accordance with personal and collective-creative plans for improving labor productivity, the notes on the plan, the Slobin method, the Bassow initiative, the movement for fulfilling the annual plan in 50 weeks and the balanced competition management taps many economic reserves. Equal importance lies in the fact that these new competition initiatives also reflect a more and more marked socialist attitude toward labor and socialist labor ethics. "Without exaggeration it may be stated that the notes on the plan by the working people are genuine documents of socialist democracy and of the socialist way of life, and an expression of the socialist attitude toward labor and toward our policy goals altogether."⁶

Competition management thus means more than assigning economic requirements. Economic-technical and consciousness-forming sides are inseparably united in socialist competition. In the movement called "work, study and live socialistically" the conscious striving for great economic achievements and conscientious, honest, socially useful work as the centerpiece of the socialist way of life combine with the appropriation of the working class ideology. For, after all, in the work collective one becomes engaged not only in deliberations on how the greatest performance increase may be achieved, but it becomes important at the same time to comprehend its economic implications. Only thereby one will become aware of the responsibility one has, which exceeds one's own job, for the man, or the brigade, working next to one, for the achievement of the entire enterprise and the solution of the main task. And the thoughts, suggestions, recommendations and many initiatives of the working people arising from it increase the labor productivity and help create the material preconditions for fulfilling the sociopolitical program. In this way the efforts by the work collectives are more and more reflected in the material and spiritual-cultural standard of living of the people and of each and everyone.

Competition results thus are not merely figures and percentage points. Equally important is this: Who are those who initiate these competitions? What moves them, what induces them, day after day, to work honestly and conscientiously? What are the reasons and their motives for assuming new, more complicated and more demanding tasks? On which sociopolitical experiences

and insights are they based? In trying to answer such questions one clearly finds this: The feats of competition grow out of the knowledge about social circumstances and interconnections, out of socialist consciousness and the personal experience which reinforces this consciousness that the party policy serves the interests of the people and of each individual. They are grounded in the certainty that the socialist social order and the power of the working class safeguard stability, security and continuing social progress.

The comrades Huebner, Westphal, Koch, Kersten, and Depke, who brought about and initiated great work achievements, represent thousands who have brought great benefits to society through their work and who at the same time are displaying their talents and skills through the exercise of socialist democracy. Comrade Kurt Pickert, master workman and secretary of the department party organization in the state-owned Espenhain softcoal combine, starting from his own experiences with reducing the time it takes to repair briquetting machinery in his enterprise, said about it: "We noticed here that it is not enough to point merely to the direct connection that exists between a great performance on the part of the individual and an increasingly better satisfaction of his material needs. Everyone can feel the advantages of our social order right in his enterprise. He feels he is a human being who right at his job helps in the decisions and contributes to the further consolidation of our republic as of socialism. It is a beautiful feeling you get only in socialist society, and a need for developing the personality which only it can satisfy."⁷

The most progressive collectives of the working class, within the framework of socialist competition, also pay much attention to the problems of order, discipline and security. Thereby they are making a contribution to the fulfillment of the planning tasks, to improving labor productivity, to the better utilization of working hours and of the basic assets. And that at the same time is also an important contribution to further perfecting socialist democracy. For in the struggle for order, discipline and security, the working people are turning the realization of socialist law more and more into a matter of their own concern.⁸ It is not simply a matter of passively obeying, and abiding by, proscriptions. Rather, the working people, of their own initiative and from the conviction of how correct the demands of the socialist legal norms are, involve themselves in the deliberate implementation of law within the spheres in which they work and live. They are doing this because they realize that socialist democracy cannot be made effective without discipline and without a firm social order, and that the responsible attitude taken by a citizen toward his own obligations and the people's interests is the decisive foundation for the extensive implementation of the principles of socialist democracy as well as for true freedom of personality. The struggle for order, discipline and security therefore visibly helps consolidate the working people's socialist state and legal consciousness. With it comes the appropriation of the demands the working class makes on conduct, which are fully explained in socialist law, and the unity of economics, democracy and legality is carried into effect.

"It is the strength of socialist democracy that it pervades all areas of public life and makes fruitful to society, at an increasingly wider scope, men's activities, knowledge and creativity."⁹ That remark by Comrade Honecker is being confirmed everywhere in the life of our republic. At the same time it is becoming clear in a special way through the further shaping of the developed socialist society that the perfecting of socialist democracy is inseparably connected with the increasing role played by socialist ideology, which therefore bestows increasingly more importance on ideological work. The further shaping of socialist democracy is, as little as the development of socialist personalities, a process that would come about automatically, as it were, simply on the basis of socialist production relations. As Comrade Brezhnev called it a requirement of socialist production for everyone to know "what he does, why he does it and how much depends on him, and is aware that his own activity is a necessary part of joint overall activity,"¹⁰ it equally applies to the working people's creative participation in the management and formation of all other areas of socialist society. Therefore an important task in ideological work lies in providing an ideological basis for the insights and experiences gained by the working people in their practical exercise of socialist democracy and, together with it, in deepening and expanding them sociopolitically. Part of it also is to be always reliably informed about what moves people and to give frank and clear answers to their questions.

A convincing presentation of our party policy has always to be combined here with a rigorous confrontation with all anticomunist attempts at slandering the nature and substance of socialist democracy and at defaming the humanistic character of socialism. It is important to unmask the reactionary and inhuman nature of imperialism and to repel offensively all the sloganry by imperialist ideologues about democracy and humanity and all the categories of bourgeois notions of democracy as propagated by monopoly capitalism. In doing so, we proceed from the rich experiences in the formation of real democracy in the countries of the socialist world.

A more and more important impulse to the working people's acting in socialist historic consciousness, we find, is the experience, made not only by our own people, that socialism "is the only social order in which man truly is a man, the only order that shapes the future of mankind."¹¹ Ideological work must make use of that experience more and more comprehensively.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "How To Organize a Competition," "Werke" (Works), Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 402.
2. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Zu aktuellen Fragen unserer Innen- und Aussenpolitik nach dem IX. Parteitag" (On Topical Questions of Our Domestic and Foreign Policy After the Ninth Party Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 14.

3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 110.
4. Willi Stoph, ""Further Shaping of Socialist Democracy," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 June 1976.
5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 32.
6. Jochen Hertwig, ""Performing Effective Political Work in Every Collective," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4/5 September 1976.
7. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 27 July 1976.
8. Cf. Gerhard Schuessler and Wolfgang Weichelt, "Arbeiterklasse-Partei-Staatsmacht" (Working Class--Party--State Power), Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1976, p 69.
9. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 113.
10. L. I. Brezhnev, "The Supreme Goal -- Steadily Improving the Life of the People," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 1/2 May 1976.
11. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Zu aktuellen Fragen . . .," op. cit., p 42.

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EAST GERMANY

OBJECTIVES SET FOR RESEARCH IN HISTORY OF LITERATURE

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[Article by Prof Dr Gerhard Ziegengeist, director, and Prof Dr Dieter Schiller, research group head, Central Institute for the History of Literature, GDR Academy of Sciences: "On the Internationalist Mission of Our Research in the History of Literature"]

[Text] The 25th CPSU Congress, the Ninth SED Congress and the party congresses of other fraternal parties have formulated largely identical questions and requirements for the overall area of cultural policy. This also includes a new level in the scientific and science policy cooperation by the scientists of literature in the fraternal countries, which is now beginning to take shape. The authors investigate common features, theoretical-methodological impulses, new problems in the dialectics between the national and the international, and questions of research in the inevitabilities in the development of socialist literature.

In the implementation of the Ninth Party Congress decisions, the GDR scientists of literature can rely on a number of remarkable achievements of their research in the field of the history of socialist German literature as well as in socialist contemporary literature. There has been unmistakable progress in analyzing the multinational Soviet literature and the literature of the countries of the socialist community. A new quality has come about also in the literary science contributions to a differentiated perception of the problems of the literary heritage and of literary reception. The remark in the Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress that there can be "no socialist way of life without an all round development of socialist culture and its firm rooting in the masses of the people" would of course bring up the question of the extent to which the surpassing consideration of the

extent to which all our scientific efforts already pervade "the further shaping of social relations and of personality in socialism."¹ Research on the inevitabilities and requirements of the developed socialist society -- as stated in the SED program -- includes a consistent focus on elaborating alternatives in ways of solutions for new and newly ripening tasks.²

Collaboration With Soviet Literary Scientists

The experiences of the last Five-Year Plan and the thorough discussions of the future research trends, now substantively enriched and, in the spirit of the Ninth Party Congress, to be related to the new dimensions of the political and ideological struggle, have shown that such a complex task also calls for a new level of collaboration with the scientists of literature in the Soviet Union and in the other countries of the socialist community. Cooperation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism has played a decisive role even in the past for forming, fortifying and developing Marxist-Leninist positions in GDR science of literature. From the ideological and organizational support in the early years of our socialist development in the GDR up to the comradely initiative and cooperative work in the solution of research issues of common interest, reflected in many conferences and publications, the Soviet scientists of literature primarily have done much for helping an accomplished and well delineated literary research effort in our country develop.

If Wilhelm Pieck could already in the '50's speak of German-Soviet friendship as of a matter of the heart -- the personal and friendly contact, the more and more smoothly flowing exchange of experience with the leading personalities of the Soviet science of literature, and the systematic shaping of cooperative relations have turned that matter of the heart into the foundation of an already richly developed coordination and interlinking among the main and decisive trends in our research.

The construction and development of these working relations in the science of literature were first, after our liberation, borne to a considerable extent by the Slavic disciplines. The complex view, implemented especially since the Eighth Party Congress, at the tasks of the science of literature in the developed socialist society -- which, as one knows, also had to be coped with in terms of science organization -- created favorable preconditions for the necessary broadening of the cooperative base. Today it may be said that the collaboration with the literary science institutions in the Soviet Union and in the fraternal socialist countries, especially with the institutes in the academies of sciences, visibly became more and more an important element in our own long-range research planning. In point of fact, what has practically been happening more and more from year to year in the research on the history and theory of literature is that the research on the function of literature in the developed socialist society, on the inevitabilities of literary development in the revolutionary world process, and the clarification of fundamental problems in literary theory, which today represents an important field for an offensive propagation of Marxism-Leninism and for confrontation with influential bourgeois ideologies, can reach the needed theoretical intensity and methodological precision now only through joint, systematic and coordinated work and a division of labor.

This kind of science policy orientation has its foundation in the socialist economic integration of the socialist community of states rallied around the Soviet Union. As little as economic and spiritual-cultural processes can be routinely equated, it still makes sense that the agreement on the goal and the fundamental social requirements in the shaping of the developed socialist society, which at the same time creates the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism, leads to the formation of essential elements the spiritual-cultural domain has in common. The 25th CPSU Congress, the Ninth SED Congress and the party congresses of other fraternal parties have formulated largely identical questions and requirements for the overall area of cultural policy. That of course creates extremely favorable conditions for cooperation among the fraternal countries also in the field of cultural policy. In this context, a new level in the scientific and science policy cooperation by the scientists of literature in the fraternal countries enters into it and is now beginning to take shape.

Common Features

An important starting point here is that -- as Professor Barabash, director of Moscow's "A. M. Gorki" Institute for World Literature recently stated in an interview -- the national literatures of our countries develop "under similar political and social conditions, in an atmosphere of unity." There were common features, and the literatures of the socialist community of states were no longer merely the sum total of the various literatures but formed "a cohesive artistic totality having its own special criteria and developing in accordance with specific laws."³

This development takes place within the framework of the inevitability of "the cooperation, the mutual penetration and reciprocal enriching of the national cultures" in socialism.⁴ The "consolidation of these common features and of the unified internationalist basis" of the socialist literatures was marked by "a blossoming of each one of them, the development of its particular and unique features, and its best national traditions." The point is to have "what is general in our literatures find its expression, uniquely, in what is special, specific and individual, while all this, being special, specific and individual, organically enters what is general."⁵ Research on this dialectics in the contemporary literary process is the object of a long-range and multilateral project by the Gorki Institute for World Literature under the USSR Academy of Sciences, which also has fundamental importance to our own research planning. For here precisely lies a possibility for illuminating new inevitabilities that have as yet not been explored in the way they work and which, belonging to the developed socialist society, have highly practical implications for the cultural-spiritual life in our society. That fully conforms with the requirement as formulated in the SED program, which says: "The SED will make every effort to root socialist culture still more deeply within our international cultural heritage. Always new impulses can be gained especially from the historical and contemporary cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries."⁶

To pretend that for such fundamental investigations an adequate theoretical and methodological head start had already been elaborated by our science would be presumptuous. For that is exactly the task that has to be solved, at least in outline, during the next Five-Year Plan. It goes without saying that for this, the cooperation among the science of literature disciplines with each other, and with historians and philosophers, constitutes a key issue for gaining further theoretical data. Even so, a solid starting position does exist -- for instance, in the theoretical investigations of the function, and change in function, of literature in our epoch, and in the internationally noted volume on literary reception, from a theoretical point of view, published under the title "Society--Literature--Reading."⁷ The compendium "Function of Literature,"⁸ published last year as a product of the international colloquium '74 by the Central Institute for the History of Literature, came to the important conclusion that the investigations of the social function of literature in the developed socialist society presupposed the exploration of its functional change in our epoch.

Through a broad prismatic spectrum of subjects of investigation it has become clear in outline form that in the process of the formation and development of socialist literatures a new awareness for the function of literature emerges, marked by proletarian internationalism, which constitutes an essential factor for the spread and renewal of national literatures. The material presented from the various national literatures makes it an obvious task to pursue, more systematically than before, such questions as that of the way in which the political-ideological function of literature, as means and component of the class struggles, could become a condition for its formal innovations.

First and foremost this requires, of course, harvesting the conceptual and esthetic wealth of the fraternal socialist countries' literatures through comparative historical and typological methods. The commendable growth in the number of translations of literature texts makes the task more and more urgent to make available theoretically sound investigations of transcendent developmental problems of the socialist national literatures and their historical premises. For a true enrichment of our own socialist national culture calls not only for an individual appropriation of any given work. It can, as a whole, come about only through a discriminating penetration into the particulars and the contradictory processes of an artistic appropriation of the world and of the traditions and the creative concepts that determine the position in world literature of any literature received.

To ignore the fact that there still are many cliches superimposing themselves on the living variety of the literary life in the history and present of the fraternal countries would be unrealistic. That is why the attempt made by Anton Hiersche, for instance, is noteworthy. In his essay "Soviet Literature and the Scientific-Technical Revolution" he subjected most recent developments in the multinational Soviet literature to historical problem analysis. In tracing systematically, in view of the effects and problems of the scientific-technical revolution, the debate on the meaning

and responsibility of literature, as expressed in the famous controversy between "physicists" and "lyricists," on the polemics on works of art, which are by no means merely at the surface of literary debates, he manages to bring close to the reader the inner unity and the productive reciprocity of the basic tendencies within Soviet literature and convincingly demonstrates its creative contribution to the shaping of the socialist way of life.⁹

Noteworthy in this is the attempt at tracing comparative cross-connections of a conceptual and typological kind with GDR literature. Such efforts, however tentative and spotty they may still be as such, something which, for example, could also be found in the volume "Expectation and Offer" by Eva and Hans Kaufmann,¹⁰ and in the compendium "Literature and Historical Consciousness" put out by M. Diersch and W. Hartinger,¹¹ no doubt help work out by the use made of concrete literary material the common features of our literatures, the elements of the new inevitabilities of which Prof Dr Barabash spoke. Of course, these are only the first beginnings, sounding a great theme of future research.

Theoretical-Methodological Impulses

Precisely new tasks like these, grown out of the social practical exigencies for the further shaping of the developed socialist society, have led in recent years to noticeably animating the interest in theoretical-methodological problems in literary research. When one aims at exploring new inevitabilities and characteristic features in the on-going literary process, one must be sure of one's starting position and of the mental tools one has. This means tapping also that reservoir which contains the important achievements made by Soviet scholars in literature. As a matter of fact, we have some catching-up to do here. The volume "Authors--World-Outlook--Art Progress" is the first to provide for a broad readership insights into the overall scientific concept of as strongly profiled a research personality as the Lenin Prize laureate M. B. Khrapchenko, secretary of the literature and language section in the USSR Academy of Sciences.¹² His investigations of the role of the author's creative individuality and of the creative principles of socialist literature push into the center of a critical-constructive survey and further development of the basic positions in the Marxist-Leninist science of literature in view of the new dimensions in the global ideological debate.

Such research far transcends the cautious and discriminating analyses and assessments by the debate within Soviet literary science. It can make a direct contribution to becoming sure about the foundations for the bilateral as well as multilateral research cooperation among the literary scholars in the socialist countries. Khrapchenko's cogent demonstration that revealing the inevitabilities and basic tendencies of world literature would also, as it were, call for attention to the creative process and the reception of literature, fully conforms to the experiences and conclusions of the work in literary history and literary theory in our own country. Based on the broad research spectrum of Soviet literary science and -- this being most noteworthy for our own manner of going about it -- with positions taken in

the scientific controversy which are as sharply polemical as they are friendly in spirit, Khrapchenko comes forth with a conception of the unity of a historic-genetic and historic-functional method in literary research and examines the procedures and criteria for typological research in literature and for the dialectics of progress in literature and art.

This last-mentioned theme is of great importance not only within the ideological class conflict in the field of literary science but stands in the center of the efforts about an all round analysis of the inevitabilities in the function of literature and in the change of its function at present, as has also been demonstrated, for example, in A. Yegorov's volume entitled "Esthetics and Social Life"¹³ or in the compendium by K. Jarmatz, "Progress in the Art of Socialist Realism."¹⁴ Khrapchenko's proof that more than an historical-epistemological investigation of the problem is needed, his explicit emphasis on the role of the artist's individuality, and on the differentiated esthetic needs of the readers and on the particulars in the historical development of art in the various nations and their contributions to world culture lead to the conclusion that in the progress of art the "internal movement of art and its social function, its effect on society" come into the open as a holistic entity.

Separate aspects of such a comprehensive complex have been explored by prominent literary scientists in our own country. We may recall R. Weimann's research on the problems of realism, C. Traeger's studies on artistic subjectivity, Naumann's essays on the theory of the reception of literature -- to mention but a few. Theoretical-methodological questions have been raised from various vantage points. This, typically, keeps close to the historical material as a rule.

That this may be combined with remarkable theoretical thrusts was shown mainly by W. Mittenzei's latest essays on "Brecht and the Fortunes of the Materials Esthetics." However much of a problem there may be in the use of the term "materials esthetics" for describing this important trend of socialist art in the process of formation -- marked by names like Brecht, Eisler, and Heartfield --, not only our own country has quite properly been responsive to this attempt at tapping and making fruitful for the on-going debates on the further development of the principles of socialist-realist art the experimental efforts by those revolutionary artists to "activate the spectator, reader and viewer, create a new relationship between artistic production and consumption, and radically to change the traditional habits in the response to art."¹⁶

This ties in with the efforts widely felt in recent times, in the Soviet Union and in other countries of the socialist community of states, at historically decoding, and getting a handle on, the whole breadth of revolutionary and socialist tendencies in art and literature, and at coming to comprehend the width and variety of socialist realism as the outcome of a contradictory process, borne by many creative endeavors, of gaining a collective identity, and of forming modes of creativity in the anti-imperialist and the antifascist struggle as in the materialization of the socialist cultural revolution.

The Dialectics of the National and the International

Conceiving of the dialectics between the national and the international as the theoretical foundation and methodological starting point in exploring the inevitabilities in the literatures of the countries of the socialist community at present means at once "drawing more deeply and lastingly from all available sources of a common cultural history and from traditional interrelations."¹⁷

In other words, the development of socialist national literatures is a process that preceded the emergence of the socialist community of states in the wake of the Soviet peoples' victory over German fascism. It began in a broad sweep by many authors' reactions to the world historical signal that initiated a new epoch, the October Revolution. This has often been factually presented; the basic lines have been thoroughly explored, especially by Soviet science. Since the '60's, an extremely important increase in knowledge has been gained in all socialist countries -- if not everywhere in the same intensity and continuity -- about the roads and detours in the formation of socialist national literatures since the '20's. It virtually compels us into more widespread generalizations on a higher level.

We now can gain a survey, thanks to the many years of research principally in the department for the "History of Socialist Literature" at the GDR Academy of Arts, over the initial stages of a socialist German national literature in the '20's and '30's and the inevitabilities in effect then. As a new research task approached through international cooperation there is currently taking shape, as the most recent publications indicate, an analysis of what the socialist literary movements have in common, under the aegis of proletarian internationalism, in their ideological, philosophic, esthetic and organizational interconnections and cross-connections.

This requires, of course, that one will -- more than in the past and extending beyond the narrow circle of specialists -- document and analyze, not only the general conclusions and results, but the vital and multilayered process of the elucidation and combination in the international socialist literary movement, and that one will supply knowledge and data on the contribution by the socialist creators of literature in all our countries to the formation of a literature of genuine humanism. For the wealth of socialist world literature at present depends not last on the wealth of its great combative tradition, which must not be shortchanged of any of its productive accomplishments. Even at the sixth Central Committee session in 1972, Kurt Hager, in a larger context, said it was important "that the experiences and insights of such important leaders of the international workers movement and of such profound Marxist thinkers as Plekhanov, Lunacharski or Vorovski, Mehring or Clara Zetkin, Blagoyev or Georgy, Dimitroff, Paul Lafargue or Julian Marchlewski, Julius Fucik or Ralph Fox -- to mention only a few names that represent many others -- would become constant sources of enrichment for our Marxist-Leninist thought. Especially important is a contact between our youth and these important spiritual traditions of our revolutionary movement,

an inexhaustible source of knowledge, insight and impulses for creative thought. For it provides the basic experience, after all, that one is spiritually at home here in a great, rich and interesting world of spiritual-cultural development, of international socialism and the international revolutionary movement. A deeper penetration into the culture of the other peoples, their customs and habits and their popular modes of living contributes to a deeper and more precise understanding of what is historically new and significant in the socialist community of states, and it reinforces our citizens' aversion to nationalism and anticommunism."¹⁸

To be effective in this sense is the task of the series of selected texts by outstanding Marxist theoreticians of culture put out by the Dietz publishing house, supplemented by other publications, of the Fundus series, for instance. It is not enough merely to present the great works of international socialist and anti-imperialist world literature. To form a comprehensive picture of the process of development of certain forces in contemporary world literature one must also make visible the emergence of the Marxist theory of literature as an international process and must bring into the historical sense of identity on the part of the developed socialist society whatever has been worked out by artists and art in society pertaining to all their experiences and the in part not yet systematically utilized recommendations made for the development of our socialist national culture in the GDR throughout the passionate debates and disputes on the basic issues of the function of authors and of literature.

A subseries within the series "Literature and Society" opens with the documents volume on the Czech Marxist literature program, 1918-1938, put out by the Central Institute for the History of Literature. It intends to provide a survey on the main tendencies in the literature debates during the period of the formation and consolidation of the socialist literary movement. The intention is to document the understanding of its creative principles and organizational union in the sense of Lenin's concept of party literature. The early volumes are devoted to the efforts by Czech, Bulgarian and Hungarian literature in combining the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle in their own countries with the internationalist responsibilities and developing a feasible concept of the alliance from there. Compendia will then follow dealing with the achievements in the science of literature by these and other socialist countries at present.

In the volume mentioned, by I. Seehase, entitled "On the Responsibility of Art,"¹⁹ documentations are combined with detailed sketches of the historical contexts of the contributions selected. Ilse Seehase explains the specific problems in a socialist literary movement that grew out of the traditions of the national liberation struggle and the reception and transformation of such traditions in the formation of an internationalist cultural consciousness -- a cultural consciousness that stood up in antifascist solidarity and included the Czech authors' own contribution to the clarification of the basic theoretical questions of the function and changing function of literature in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At present, the exploration of the anti-imperialist and socialist traditions of the '20's and '30's stands under the aspect of the dialectics between the national and the international in socialist literary developments as a long-range emphasis aspect in the literary research by the academies and other institutions in the fraternal countries, with special consideration given to the traditions of the antifascist struggle and its effect on the revolutionary processes after 1945.

A compendium entitled "Defense of Mankind" which was produced by E. Kowalski²⁰ not only supports this theme by an enormously vast wealth of material written by prominent scientists of literature in the socialist countries, but it also testifies to the greater skill on the part of scientists of literature in the GDR in arriving at general concepts for national processes of literary development through looking at international developments. This has the characteristic feature that in a number of interviews with authors the theme is shown to be truly topical in view of the literary blossoming process in the socialist national literatures currently in evidence. Bringing together literary research and authors' reflections in this manner is one step toward overcoming traditional barriers that speaks well for a practice-related science of literature.

This should not seduce us into ignoring, of course, that the greater task is still ahead of us. Bringing together a great variety of research results and theoretical deliberations under a common overall theme, important as it may be, is no substitute for the necessary synthesis of individual research in broadly focusing historical-theoretical studies, in problem-oriented designs offered for discriminating generalizations of the basic inevitabilities in literary development and their effect on the revolutionary world process. The courage for sweeping syntheses and working hypotheses must combine here with painstaking research and the most cautious use of international research results. That way alone can our own work become an effective part of the treasure of knowledge and of the collective sense of identity in our countries and of the focus on the future with its spiritual-cultural enrichment and rapprochement among the peoples.

Furthering the inevitabilities in the reciprocal interpenetration and enrichment of the national cultures of the socialist countries means deepening the awareness among our own people of the specifics in development conditions and in the creative contributions by the fraternal countries' cultures to world culture. It also means developing a harmonious and all round picture of how this inevitability expresses itself, and prevails, in the national culture of our people in the GDR, that thinks of itself as an inseparable component of the internationalist community of the fraternal socialist peoples, and how this inevitability, as a productive element in the further development of national character, works in the spirit of the further shaping of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Inevitabilities in the Development of Socialist Literature

There is no doubt that the GDR scientists of literature are becoming ever more aware of the historic task placed upon them, not last, by those all-embracing interconnections. Works like the 2-volume "History of Russian Soviet Literature"²¹ and the copious volume "Multinational Soviet Literature"²² could -- while relying on Soviet literature research -- perform their own contributions to an analysis of the in terms of world literature most effective and pronounced manifestations of the socialist literatures, those literatures which are, precisely, those of a world historically new community of men, the multinational Soviet society. In particular the last mentioned work on the multinational Soviet literature, thanks to its novel theoretical and methodological conception, earned the explicit support from prominent scientists at the Gorki Institute for World Literature like A. Dymshits, G. Lomidze, A. Arutyunov and others. That was furthermore an important prerequisite for that collective undertaking in studying the "literatures of the European socialist countries" under the aspect of their universal character and their national characteristics, summarizing it all in one book.²³

What was wanted in this volume was first of all a concentration on some selected important episodes and authors that would give a vivid picture of the inevitability in the formation of socialist literature and its role in the national and social liberation struggle of its peoples, of its achievements in forming an internationalist type of socialist national consciousness. This is the first survey that has been attempted to show fundamental processes in the literatures of European socialist countries under the unified viewpoint of the development of a socialist image of man, with an emphatic recognition of analogies as well as divergencies. And one has been successful here in giving ample consideration to any given national historical context and in accounting for the functional connections of literary development -- always with a view to the emergence of a socialist literary movement at an international scale.

It is not by chance that at the present state of research the literature of our own country could not yet be organically included in this. This opens up questions that will now have to be attacked with all determination. To explore the firm rooting of our own socialist national literature within the development of the literatures of the socialist countries is a task that calls for close cooperation between Germanics and other scientific disciplines of literature. Our science of literature has of course a special obligation to account fully for the achievements of our socialist literary movement and, indeed, for the whole humanistic tradition of German literature within the process of the rapprochement among our peoples, making the historiography of that literature into an active element supporting that rapprochement. Volumes 10 and 11 of the "History of German Literature"²⁴ have tried to formulate important initial steps in that direction. For developing a cohesive conception, however, many other, far more systematically prepared research efforts are needed.

How necessary and stimulating a consistent use of Soviet studies can be, was shown by the volume published last year of D. F. Markov's "On the Genesis of Socialist Realism."²⁵ It deals with the experiences and achievements of South and West Slavic literatures in the '20's and '30's. A comparative typological exploration of those literatures leads to detailed arguments on the formation of that new type of literature shaped by socialist realism and derives from the agreement among the typological tendencies of those literatures the unmistakable trend of world literature. D. F. Markov is trying to show that socialist world literature, with all the extraordinary variety in concrete national forms, still emerges as a uniform and new type of artistic awareness.

The research in socialist literatures under the aspect of the world literary process then mainly means opening the path from a broadly focusing comparative analysis of the socialist national literatures and the formation of features of a new international system of literary development to "discovering new essential inevitabilities in the processes of world literature." That kind of comparative typological research in socialist literary trends, as here conceived of, is new territory for our own literary science. It brings D. Markov to asking the important question as to which literary trends took part in the formation of socialist realism. His investigations reach the conclusion that "the formation of the socialist literatures came not only from the proletarian-revolutionary trends in literature" but that others had something to do with it too.

Socialist art from the very beginning was based on the achievements of critical realism and continued the work of important realistic artists who felt strongly attracted by socialism. But at the same time, in the '20's, representatives of various leftist trends called avant-garde in some countries showed revolutionary trends too. To determine the actual positions of the various literary trends in the formation process of the literatures of the new type is, according to Markov, the most important task in the research on the genesis of socialist realism. And he makes a big point of saying that the fact that several trends came together in forming the new literature should have to be regarded as a measure of the width of its esthetic platform, understood as a synthesis of the best artistic achievements of past and present. In this manner then, the research on the destiny of earlier currents and methods could provide the evidence for seeing socialist realism as, in principle, a "new esthetic structure."

It turns out that this thesis is being confirmed, and fruitful contributions are being made to the synthesis suggested by D. Markov, by the outcome of the remarkable studies on the emergence and development of modern socialist German literature, and it may suffice merely to refer here to F. Albrecht, K. Kaendler, M. Mittenzwei, H. Kaufmann and S. Schlenstedt, who all, from various points of departure, have contributed in recent years to the clarification of the questions that have to do with it. The synthesis -- purposefully developed through the joint research capabilities in our countries -- offers an important

field for an offensive and strategic, large-scale confrontation with the increasing number of studies by imperialist, revisionist and also leftist sectarian ideologues wishing to disseminate anticommunist and anti-Soviet ideas under the flag of a historical analysis of the creative achievements by socialist literature, which in terms of its impact on world literature can no longer be gainsaid. Pursuing the conditions of the struggle of the working class and of its party, and the elaboration of its historic strategy and alliance policy in accordance with the dialectics of the continuity and discontinuity of the literary process in seeking artistic solutions, amounts to a task that can support not only the clarification process in the struggle for enforcing the democratic and socialist alternatives to imperialism. It is no less important for determining the function of art and literature in developed socialism. For the practice of the socialist cultural revolution, as a general inevitability in the socialist transformation of society, develops such rich shades in esthetic needs and capabilities which all can and must critically take hold of all thrusts and designs for the development and transformation of art in the spirit of the anti-imperialist struggle, of peace, social progress, and the socialist-communist prospect for mankind.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED," (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 102 and 127.
2. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 46-47.
3. "Far-Reaching Tasks in Joint Research," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 July 1976.
4. Authors' Collective led by P. N. Fedoseyev, "Leninism and the National Question at Present," Moscow, 1974, p 359.
5. "Far-Reaching Tasks in Joint Research," loc. cit.
6. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," loc.cit., pp 52-53.
7. Authors' Collective led by Manfred Naumann, "Gesellschaft--Literatur--Lesen," Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1957.
8. Dieter Schlenstedt, Brigitte Burmeister, Ilse Idzikowski, Dieter Kliche, editors collective, "Funktion der Literatur. Aspekte--Probleme--Aufgaben," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1975 (Series: Literatur und Gesellschaft).
9. Anton Hiersche, "Sowjetliteratur und wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1976 (Series: Literatur und Gesellschaft).

10. Eva and Hans Kaufmann, "Erwartung und Angebot," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1976 (Series: Literatur und Gesellschaft).
11. Manfred Diersch and Walfried Hartinger, eds., "Literatur und Geschichtsbewusstsein," Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1976.
12. Mikhael B. Khrapchenko, "Schriftsteller--Weltanschauung--Kunstfortschritt," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1975 (Series: Literatur und Gesellschaft).
13. Anatoli Yegorov, "Aesthetik und gesellschaftliches Leben," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 196 ff.
14. Klaus Jarmatz and Ingrid Beyer, eds., "Der Fortschritt in der Kunst des sozialistischen Realismus," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974.
15. M. B. Khrapchenko, op. cit., p 299.
16. Werner Mittenzwei, "Brecht und die Schicksale der Materialaesthetik," "Dialog 75--Positionen und Tendenzen," Henschel publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 9.
17. Hans Koch, "Topical Questions of the Appropriation of Our Legacy," WEIMARER BEITRAEGE, No 3, 1976, pp 25 ff.
18. Kurt Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED" (On Matters of SED Cultural Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, pp 56-57.
19. Ilse Seehase, ed., "Von der Verantwortung der Kunst," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1976 (Series: Literatur und Gesellschaft).
20. Edward Kowalski, ed., "Verteidigung der Menschheit," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1975.
21. Authors' Collective led by H. Juenger, "Geschichte der russischen Sowjetliteratur," Vol 1 (1917-1941); Vol 2 (1941-1967), Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1973 and 1975.
22. Authors' Collective led by G. Ziegengeist, "Multinationale Sowjetliteratur. Kulturrevolution--Menschenbild--Weltliterarische Leistung 1917-1972," Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1975.
23. "Literaturen europaeischer sozialistischer Laender," Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1975.
24. Cf. Horst Haase, "A New Reality--A New Literature," EINHEIT, No 5/6 1976, p 657.
25. Dmitriy F. Markov, "Zur Genesis des sozialistischen Realismus," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1975 (Series: Literatur und Gesellschaft).

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[Review by Joachim Hannemann, Ingrid Pawlowitz and Lothar Zschuckelt, doctoral candidates at SED Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences: "Funktion der Literatur: Aspekte--Probleme--Aufgaben" (Function of Literature: Aspects--Problems--Tasks), published by Akademie-Verlag, East Berlin, 1975]

[Text] In science as in literature itself, the problem of how socialist-realist art can help the shaping of socialist society and more deeply develop the socialist way of life has been under discussion with special emphasis in recent years. The question has been how socialist art can truly make an impression on the life of the people and form socialist convictions, attitudes and relations to life, and a sense for beauty and for the ideals of the working class. That these problems are of international interest and not only raised by GDR authors was seen at the colloquium on the "function of literature in our epoch," which was sponsored in May 1974 by the Central Institute for the History of Literature at the GDR Academy of Sciences, and in which scientists from the Soviet Union, Poland, the CSSR, Colombia, the FRG and the GDR took part.

That conference brought out clearly that the discussions of the tasks and possibilities of literature in the developed socialist society are embedded in the international class struggle against imperialism and in the ever deeper collaboration among socialist countries. The most important materials of the conference were then put together and published in the book "Funktion der Literatur. Aspekte--Probleme--Aufgaben," by the Akademie publishing house, in its series "Literatur und Gesellschaft."

The variety of contributions shows that the editors (Dieter Schlenstedt, Brigitte Burmeister, Ilse Idzikowski and Dieter Kliche) tried to clarify the complex problems of the function and historicity of literature, as they were discussed in various ways at the conference. Different methodological approaches to these issues are being tested, and one seeks to use them for a more exhaustive penetration into the new social function of literature

under the new social conditions. Devoted to that concern are the topical references as much as are the contributions on relationships in the history of literature, the socialist traditions and finally also, the essays on literature in the anti-imperialist struggle. The presentation of all these facets of the problems and the raising of theoretical questions from various aspects it is that makes the book, above and beyond its documentary value, of interest also to a broader circle of readers. While solutions cannot always be offered, the complex approach to the problems still satisfies the criteria of a functional approach to literature.

A clear arrangement makes it easy for the reader to involve himself in a wealth of theoretical problems. First comes a general outline of the problem, and the five subsequent chapters are arranged along historical viewpoints. In them the literature and esthetics of bourgeois society come under review, the socialist traditions are examined, the role of literature in the ongoing anti-imperialist struggle (Latin America, United States, France, FRG) is presented by use of examples, and a debate is carried on about the literature of socialist society at present.

In the general outline, Manfred Naumann, Dieter Schlenstedt and Dietrich Sommer in particular are setting down a theoretical foundation and are pointing to the main trends in the discussion. Naumann and Schlenstedt take the various relations between literature and the social process for the starting point in their investigation, dealing with a wealth of interchange between authors, their works and their readers. Following the Marxist view of literature as part of the aggregate of social relations, they emphasize the importance of the social function of literature within the social development process while they are refuting such bourgeois conceptions of literature as "the autonomy of literature." With reference to the relations between production and consumption presented by Marx, Sommer bases the concept of the social function of literature on the question as to "how the literary works, genres, currents and trends and literary social communication work on behalf of the expanded reproduction of socialist society and how they affect the spiritual reproduction process." He conceives of literature not as a sum total of literary works but as a "system of social relations between authors of the past and of the present, the pertinent works and the readers" (page 70). This explicitly includes matters of effect and response as part of literary research. The scientists of literature are asked to include and explain within their investigations the conditions for literary reception resulting from social conditions.

Two historical chapters follow. "Literature and Esthetics in Bourgeois Society" traces, by use of selected examples, the preconditions for bourgeois conceptions of literature and their emergence under early capitalist conditions all the way to their manifestations under imperialism. All authors share the method of deriving literary relations and conceptions from the conditions and changes of the mode of production. Such a procedure establishes from the very start a critical attitude, which at the same time is a productive one, toward bourgeois conceptions of literature.

"Questioning the Socialist Tradition" is a part in which the editors have combined contributions that test our tradition's productivity in providing an up-to-date understanding of the function of literature and explain in partial aspects the meaning of function on the part of socialist literature. Lines of development in the socialist conception of our literature are made clear by use of the examples of Willi Bredel and Anna Seghers. This part is especially valuable for its internationalist references. The contributions by Stepan Vlasin, Karol Rosenbaum and Wiktor A. Chorew, on Czech, Slovak and Polish literary developments, point to the many interesting parallels the socialist literatures have in common, in being elements of the proletarian class struggle, while they also have their own special and particular characteristics. Each contribution in this part especially has to be appreciated in its own terms, for the understanding of the tradition helps us greatly in understanding the function of contemporary literature. Fritz Mierau, Ilse Idzikowski and Gudrun Duewel primarily deal with two examples from the history of function in Soviet literature. For one thing, a point is made of Gorki's achievement, which did not only consist in being "one of the early works of socialist realism, but in Gorki having been one of the authors decisively involved in the organization of literature and its being conveyed to a particular type or reader" (page 189). It is made clear that the literary work and the personal acknowledgement are important conditions and that, furthermore, the new social conditions, and the conditions of literature with them, demand the author's total commitment to the further development of socialist reality, a commitment that transcends the immediate process of artistic creativity.

The last three chapters of the book look at the problem of function mainly from a topical point of view. In this part too, the inclusion of international problems and questions must be rated as a distinction of the work.

"Literature in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle" shows that new interesting attempts are being made, in Latin American as well as in the United States, France and the FRG, at determining the social function of literature under the specific sociohistorical conditions of those countries. A special point is made of the theoretical and practical effort at developing literature more strongly as a weapon in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Such attempts are discussed by Carlos Rincon when he describes the functional change of contemporary Latin American literature. Special attention is given this problem because of the extraordinary importance the means of mass communication have to the ideological struggle. The author makes quite clear, by reference to the comic strips used by the Unidad Popular, how that medium, which the bourgeoisie used mainly for bringing into line, or stupefying, the masses, could be given a different function under the concrete conditions of the country, filled with enlightening political content and thus made serviceable to new progressive objectives.

The concluding chapters are entitled "Literature in Socialist Society Today" and "Change in Viewpoint: Theater and Film." They once more illuminate the complexity of the problems referred to above. Regardless of whether these

questions are looked at from the overall strategic point of view (Yuriy V. Bogdanov) or from certain theoretical aspects (Anton Hiersche, Lothar Kuehne), whether the point of departure lies in cultural policy (Jirij Hajek), the genre (Stanislav Smatlak, Joachim Fiebach, Lutz Hauke), or in the author's poetry (Leonore Krenzlin, Werner Mittenzwei), all the contributions reveal the research field of the "function of literature" in its topical importance and multilayered character.

Yuriy V. Bogdanov asks about the social function of literature in the dialectics between social progress and art progress. He reaches the conclusion that the function of the national literatures in socialism, undergoing an ever stronger process of rapprochement, chiefly lies in revealing the new quality of humanism in the socialist social system, the quality of real humanism. That definition moves Bogdanov close to the position held by Naumann and Schlenstedt, who also call the "humanization function" art has its basic function, a basic function that does not develop beyond and apart from the historical class struggles, wherefore it also has a class character and is closely connected with the ideological function of literature, as Klaus Hoepcke emphasizes by quoting Helmut Sakowski.

Anton Hiersche finds in the ongoing processes of the scientific-technical revolution and the human relations with nature combined with them the salient point for what is specific in the function of literature under developed socialism. Using the example of Soviet literature he shows that up to the '50's the relationship was determined by "the pathos of an absolute domination of nature, a triumphant victory over nature." With the beginning of the '60's, there comes an ever more insistent admonition and call for making a meaningful use of the growing power over nature and establishing a responsible relationship with nature. This trend becomes visible, on the one hand, in a new awareness for natural phenomena, for the "blade of grass, soil, water, air," and then also in the new ways in which men associate with the natural environment today. The author also brings out how the relationship between man and nature is used as a criterion for the ethics and humanity of literary figures and their modes of action. Thereby literature can make conscious the specific contradictions between industry and nature in socialist society and stimulate the willingness to cope with these problems.

In an essay on the relationship between intended effect and the structure of a work, Leonore Krenzlin addresses herself to problems in GDR literature. On the basis of numerous interviews with authors in recent years she reaches the conclusion that all authors queried understand their act of "writing as bringing an active influence to bear on the development of our socialist society" and that there is furthermore a remarkable variety in the subjective understanding of function.

In a contribution entitled "Brecht--The Esthetic Consequences of Functional Change," Werner Mittenzwei on only a few pages provides a sound outline of Brecht's understanding of function and explains the causes and consequences of functional change in the late '20's and the '50's. He calls the new sides in Brecht's thought by the categories of productivity, naivety and enjoyment.

The present book enriches the understanding of the meaning of function particularly through its international character. The multilayered, real process of literature supports the thesis of the editors, according to which "the world revolutionary process, the emergence and intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, and the construction of socialism of necessity bring about changes in the function of literature in society" (page 11), through looking at it from such an internationalist vantage point.

The Central Institute for the History of Literature and the editors of the book have the distinction of having marked, through their colloquium, the state of functional research and having staked out what the tasks are that will now have to be coped with. Those tasks can be found primarily in further research on the function of art in socialism, in working out the aspects under which that function can be more effective, and also in more strongly involving certain genres like film and television in this research.

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LITERATURE ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION DISCUSSED

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[Article by Dr John Erpenbeck and Dr Ulrich Roeseberg, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Man--Society--Environment"]

[Text] The effects by the ongoing industrial and agricultural production on the biosphere, the population growth and the disproportions between the population growth and the growth of food production in certain regions of the world, the growing energy and raw material needs, the greater demands made on fresh water reservoirs and other serious problems of this kind have led to an extensive discussion of the environment on a worldwide basis. The variety of standpoints represented reflect differing social interests and scientific approaches; in particular, they express the given socio-political positions of their authors.

In the socialist states, man stands in the center of all theoretical investigations and practical measures for solving environmental problems. The scope and importance of the tasks that still have to be solved through giving a systematic structure to the man-nature relationship is expressed in the SED program, as follows: "It is necessary to preserve nature, the source of life, material wealth, health and joy for man, and to use it rationally, on a scientific basis, so that it may support the safe and happy life of future generations in communist society."¹

We start out with successes achieved without closing our eyes to thus far unsolved problems, and we mainly further the contractually laid down collaboration within the framework of CEMA. The socialist community of states has achieved internationally widely noted successes in environmental protection and commands a system of agreements on the solution of environmental problems that is, thus far, unprecedented in the world.

In the leading capitalist industrial states the struggle for the solution of environmental problems in the interest of man belongs to the action program of the revolutionary working class. This struggle by the progressive forces in the capitalist countries is opposed by the interests of monopoly capital which keeps, not man, but profit the centerpiece of all considerations.

The variety of political-ideological, philosophic, military, economic and natural science and technical aspects of the man-nature relationship dealt with in the environmental debate is expressed in our republic by a great amount of literature. Some of those studies shall be singled out in this report.

Nearly all essential aspects of the complex problem of the environment and of environmental protection are contained in the volume entitled "Man in the Center--Environment and Environmental Protection," produced by Karlheinz Lohs and Sonnhild Doering.² In it, economists, chemists, physicists, oceanographers, psychologists and representatives of other sciences deal, in a popular vein yet never oversimplifying inadmissibly, with a broad spectrum of important practical questions of social relations in the influence of the environment on man (on his job and at leisure), the rational use of the soil, the water and raw materials, down to the elimination of noxious substances, the production of an active man-nature relationship, and the economic questions of environmental protection.

Two articles should be mentioned as examples. The article written by Karlheinz Lohs, one of the editors of the volume, in collaboration with Wolfgang Gobel and Gerhard Fischer, deals with the influence of chemical substances in the air, in the water and in the soil on human health. On the basis of facts the authors prove that it would be objectively wrong and politically misleading to pretend that the factors in the biosphere which are harmful to health are necessarily the consequence of industrial or scientific-technical progress (pages 90 ff). At the same time they show that we must still know much more about the actual effects certain substances have on the human organism. Our state, with its central concern for man's well-being, has always devoted much attention to the protection of its citizens' health. Thus it is all the more important for us to deepen what we know about the truly harmful effects of chemical products in all public domains and thereby to broaden the scientific foundations for appropriate legislative measures for human health protection. Particular importance in this work attaches to science cooperation with our CEMA partners. The GDR also supports the relevant efforts within the framework of the special organizations of the United Nations, particularly that of WHO.

Hans Mottek's contribution deals with the economic problems of environmental protection. He explains that what we are concerned with under socialist production relations is the systematic, that is, the conscious shaping of the environment for the good of man. Such an objective has its premise in the abolition of the private ownership in the means of production (pages 1 ff). It would, however, be a mistake to look at the tasks for a conscious environmental policy while ignoring the economic possibilities of socialist society. What is right now of the greatest importance in our republic is to provide a still stronger economic stimulus for the solution of necessary and important environmental tasks that are already technically feasible today. The author submits interesting ideas about this which warrant further discussions. At the same time he takes issue with the claims formulated in imperialist countries to the effect that state monopoly regulations could cancel the advantages that socialist planned economy has for environmental protection.

As certain problems in environmental protection and environmental policy cannot be solved within the borders of the socialist community of states alone but call for regional, or even global, efforts (for example, the world climate, the use of the world's oceans and so forth), importance attaches to Mottek's remark that the recommendations from the Soviet Union and from the other socialist countries on measures for the protection of the natural environment proceed from the consideration that the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social orders constitutes the political prerequisite for the solution of those problems. In the preface of the compendium, the editors describe the concern of environmental policy and protection by socialist society in saying: In the center of all efforts on behalf of an environmental policy stands man. All contributions in this book, which is so important to the ongoing theoretical discussion and to appropriate practical developments, confirm the correctness and effectiveness of that kind of a political-ideological orientation. A comprehensive index, numerous references to pertinent literary contributions and selected laws and regulations on GDR land culture facilitate working with the book.

Important scientific-technical problems of detail in environmental protection and its sociopolitical importance are treated in the brochure series "Technology and Environmental Protection. Air--Water--Soil--Noise."³ It is mainly intended for practical use. Number 9 in this series, for instance, is entitled "Land Use and Environmental Protection." In it, an authors' collective deals with the matters of soil maintenance, care, enrichment and cultivation in connection with problems of landscaping in softcoal mining territories.

The studies mentioned up to this point were written mainly by natural scientists and technicians basing their discussions on Marxist-Leninist orientations in natural science and technical solutions for important practical problems. There furthermore exists a copious literature in which above all economists, philosophers and journalists investigate the political-ideological, philosophic and economic aspects of the sets of problems under discussion.

In an essay entitled "Ecological Crisis? -- Objective and Background of Bourgeois Social and Environmental Theories,"⁴ the French journalist Guy Biolat seeks to prove that the responsibility for the damage already done to the environment in the imperialist states has to be looked for in the monopolies which are oriented toward maximum profits. They are trying right now to settle the working people with the burdens for removing the damage that increasingly endangers by now the capitalist reproduction process. That is supported by numerous facts about the state monopoly environmental policy in which France is engaged (pages 82 ff), and which is being opposed by the working class by means of the only possible slogan: Against the main cause of environmental damage, the power of the monopolies (pages 144 ff). Biolat's conclusions apply not only to France but, with some modifications, to all capitalist countries. The scientific-technical revolution in those countries further aggravates the contradictions between man and nature that came from the despoiling of the productive forces and of nature on the basis

of the private ownership in the means of production. Those contradictions can definitively be eliminated only when the fundamental contradiction between the developmental stage of the productive forces and the capitalist production relations is resolved through a socialist revolution.

Some theoreticians of the Club of Rome have drawn the conclusion from model computations on the development of population growth and food production, the increasing burdens placed on the biosphere by industry and agriculture, and the globally available resources, that the only alternative to a world-wide catastrophe is the so-called zero-growth. In a study entitled "Balancing the Zero," Juergen Kuczynski takes issue with that kind of zero-growth theories. In it he mainly shows the objective bases for the manner in which such bourgeois theoreticians ideologically reflect the general crisis of capitalism. Kuczynski examines some economic aspects of the presumed "limits of growth" (pages 41 ff). His investigation by no means addresses only economists but expands the worldwide confrontation by easily understandable general economic arguments. Kuczynski convincingly proves the capitalists' despoiling of nature to be by no means a new phenomenon but only new in its dimensions and in the great dangers for mankind they bring about. And he provides authoritative statistical data to prove his points.

The author does of course accept facts such as the natural limits of raw materials, the impossibility of a continuing exponential growth of population and a number of data on environmental pollution. But he rigorously takes issue with the manner in which those data were used in the model computations of the Club of Rome and with the conclusions derived from them. The first report to the Club of Rome left socioeconomic factors out of the trend computations altogether; the second report that came out in the meantime takes inadequate account of them. The conclusions drawn by Juergen Kuczynski in taking issue with the thesis of an alleged need for going into zero-growth remain fully valid. Socialist society is a society "the growth of which toward men's increasing well-being is unlimited" (page 69). One should here take into account that in socialism/communism there is no growth for the sake of growth: "There is only one type of growth that absolutely must take place: the growth of men's well-being" (page 69), of their possibilities for satisfying ever more demanding material and spiritual needs.

This is not a matter of growth, thus, that is solely expressed by quantitative increases. Nor are we up against some imaginary "quality of life," a concept that has become some sort of magic formula among bourgeois ideologists in the capitalist countries, which is pointed out by Hermann Grosse and Manfred Puschmann who take issue with that concept.⁶ What we are concerned with, rather, is the concrete investigation and conscious organization of the "reciprocity between nature and society,"⁷ most informatively examined in a popular science study by E. K. Fyodorov.

Fyodorov -- like Kuczynski and most of the other Marxist authors too -- certainly recognizes the efforts made by various bourgeois theoreticians

at examining global models and precompute certain, technologically determined, growth processes -- such as the exhaustion of natural resources. But he thinks it important to include such essential socioeconomic factors as the ownership in the means of production and in natural wealth. He first distinguishes between potential and practical possibilities for the use of resources of different kinds (raw materials, food, energy and so forth) in order then to prove that potential possibilities are still enormous but are being drastically restrained precisely through the social factors, mainly by the profit-oriented capitalist production method and the disadvantages arising therefrom for the formerly suppressed colonial countries, by the lack of effective cooperation among states with differing social systems, the arms race and so forth (cf. page 68).

Examples from the USSR demonstrate that and how socialism has successfully attacked problems in systematically shaping the man-nature relationship (pages 70 ff).⁸ Summarizing his statements on growth, Fyodorov also makes the explicit point that socialism/communism sees its goal, not in "striving for growth," but rather in an ever more complete satisfaction of the people's growing material and spiritual needs. And "to reach this goal, growth is of course needed, but not as an end in itself" (page 109). Neither can the young national states -- in trying to satisfy the most elemental needs of their populations -- renounce the industrialization and intensification of their agriculture (page 110). And here the point that matters today is that they are given that kind of aid which will liberate them from their political, economic, military and cultural dependence on the former colonial powers.

If, as comes out in numerous practical measures in environmental policy and environmental protection the socialist states have taken, and in theoretical studies as well, man stands in the center of all efforts, this then has an implication for the scientific and propagandistic activities of the Marxist-Leninist social scientists in that they will have comprehensively to examine all the political-ideological, philosophic and moral-ethical questions coming up with it. Possible negative consequences of the scientific-technical progress and the attempts, characteristic of imperialism, at misusing the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution even for antihumanistic purposes (weapons of mass destruction, drug abuse and so forth) compel us to analyze the whole range of ideological positions taken toward the scientific-technical progress and the role of man, and to deepen the Marxist-Leninist insights with the help of the new materials in social and science development.

In a study entitled "Man contra Matter?" Herbert Hoerz engages in a successful attempt in that direction.⁹ He shows the currently discussed ideological questions -- as, for instance, of the nature of social progress and the meaning of life -- to be no new ideological questions to be sure, but questions that must be newly pondered on the basis of up-to-date scientific knowledge. His ideas of how to deepen the specific Marxist-Leninist answers to these questions clearly differ from the views prevailing in bourgeois ideology to the effect that man cannot control the scientific-technical progress and

would turn into a "slave to technology," which, then again, would wreck the whole idea of humanism (ethical pessimism). Nor have they anything in common with the unconditional faith of bourgeois science optimists to the effect that science can solve all problems on its own. In carefully examining the arguments in such current bourgeois ideological viewpoints, Hoerz shows convincingly by means of facts that the ideological questions posed along with the scientific-technical progress call for rigorously Marxist-Leninist solutions. This involves in the ideological confrontation mainly the following three problem areas:

(1) One cannot prevent the new natural science data developing along with the scientific-technical progress from being used against man by trying to stop the progress. The struggle by the progressive forces thus is not directed against the natural forces and the knowledge of them, but against those social forces that make money from aggression and wars, placing the profit interest above the well-being of man (page 40).

(2) Despite the assessments by the Club of Rome there is no crisis in the relationship between man and nature. There are, however, regional and global problems in environmental protection. In the class conflict between socialism and capitalism it thus has today also become a matter of enforcing the political solutions as the basis for a deliberate shaping of an environment that is philanthropic and for increasingly better satisfying men's material and spiritual needs (page 44).

(3) The exploration of numerous vital functions of the human organism currently made possible and practiced by medicine and biology, and the possibilities gained on this basis for deliberate interference with that organism, has given rise to far-reaching philosophic-ideological and ethical questions begging for answers.

All this shows that man moves more and more into the center in the international ideological issue over the scientific-technical progress. The author exhibits the humanistic standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and at once draws conclusions for having the problems further explored and answered by the Marxist-Leninists. The philosopher's interest in this does not aim at producing a catalog of norms, even if an important requirement is seen explicitly in giving precision to juridical and moral norms (page 46). In the center of philosophic considerations, rather, stands the relationship between objective laws and values and norms, the formation of norms and their importance to decisions, and the relationship between the truth and value of scientific theories. Bourgeois theoreticians normally proceed from the notion that science is irrelevant to norms and values, they being subject to absolute contingency. The advantage of our scientific world-outlook, not last, lies in placing us, in principle, in a situation where we can, based on recognized objective developmental inevitabilities, develop scientifically sound and practically effective normative and value concepts.

The Marxist-Leninist studies on the problem of man--society--environment provide the following realization: There neither is an "ecological crisis for humanity" nor a "crisis in the relationship of men with nature." If bourgeois authors are making a lot of propaganda noise about those theses right now, it is because their reactionary ideological meaning consists, precisely, in "replacing the socialist revolution by environmental protection."¹⁰

Our literature also shows that the problems in environmental pollution and in shaping the environment are by no means new but that in the imperialist countries the contradictions in the man-nature relationship brought about on the basis of capitalist production relations intensify under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. That has done enormous harm to the environment already.

Whereas the socioeconomic preconditions for a comprehensive and systematic organization of harmonious man-nature relations are only possible on the basis of socialist production relations, an important task right now is the further development of international collaboration for the benefit of man within the framework of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. For such collaboration would help, as was emphasized at the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, "solve such complicated and basic problems as world hunger, illiteracy, environmental protection, atmospheric and oceanic pollution, the tapping and using of new energy sources, the prevention of natural catastrophes, and the prevention and cure of the most dangerous illnesses."¹¹

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 26.
2. Karlheinz Lohs and Sonnhild Doering, eds., "Im Mittelpunkt der Mensch. Umweltgestaltung--Umweltschutz," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1975.
3. "Technik und Umweltschutz," Brochure Series, VEB Deutscher Verlag fuer Grundstoffindustrie, Leipzig.
4. Guy Biolat, "Oekologische Krise? -- Ziel und Hintergrund buergerlicher Theorien von Gesellschaft und Umwelt," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974.
5. Juergen Kuczynski, "Das Gleichgewicht der Null," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1973.
6. Hermann Grosse and Manfred Puschmann, "'Qualitaet des Lebens,' Ausweg oder Irrefuehrung?" ("Quality of Live," Way Out or Confusion?), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974.
7. E. K. Fyodorov, "Die Wechselwirkung zwischen Natur und Gesellschaft" (The Reciprocity Between Nature and Society), VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1974.

8. An intensive discussion has long been carried on in the Soviet Union about the structure to be given to the man-nature relationship. See, for example, the round-table discussion "Science and Global Problems At Present," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 5, 1975, pp 528 ff; No 6, 1975, pp 643 ff; "Plenary Session of the USSR Academy of Sciences on Problems of Environmental Protection and the Rational Use of Biological Resources, GDR Academy of Sciences, ed., INFORMATIONEN AUS WISSENSCHAFT UND TECHNIK -- UEBERSETZUNGEN, REFERATE, No 5, 1974.
9. Herbert Hoerz, "Mensch contra Materie?" VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1976.
10. Kurt Hager, "Engels' 'Dialektik der Natur' und die Gegenwart" (Engels' "Dialectics of Nature" and the Present), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 47.
11. "For Peace, Security, Collaboration and Social Progress in Europe-- Document of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe," EINHEIT, No 8, 1976, p 856.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

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Modern Technology--Reducing Costs--Better Working Conditions

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhard Mueller, dean, natural sciences
and engineering, Wismar School of Engineering; pp 1104-1111]

[Text] Proceeding from the characterization of the nature of technology and from practical experiences in improving it, its importance to social progress is presented. Shown in particular is its effect on increasing the labor productivity, reducing costs and improving working conditions. A point is made of the need for a critical assessment of the state of technology in all enterprises, and ways are shown for raising the technological level of production. The managers' tasks and the responsibility of the party organizations for it are outlined.

How Can Scientific-Technical Work Be Intensified?

[Summary of article by Dr Werner Bahmann, engineer, director for science and technology, VEB Berlin Machine-tool Factory in Marzahn; Dr Ekkehard Boettger, department of socialist industry economics, SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College; and Prof Dr Karl Hartmann, head of this department; pp 1112-1119]

[Text] Our planned economic growth is based more and more on the greater effectiveness of science and technology. Intensification demands that the efficacy of scientific-technical work itself be improved. This makes high demands on the management of scientific-technical processes, mainly on accurate scientific-technical and economic requirements. This efficacy is decisively determined by the initiatives and commitments of the scientists and engineers and calls for a purposeful rationalization and a creative atmosphere.

The Program of the Continued Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, for Freedom and Independence of the Peoples

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Joachim Krueger, department head in Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; pp 1120-1128]

[Text] Establishing permanent peace is a realistic task which, however, can be solved only in the struggle against the resistance of the anti-detente forces of imperialism. The peace program of the 25th CPSU Congress provides a constructive orientation for it to all peace forces. Its fundamental proposals pertain above all to the role of the socialist community as the main force of the peace struggle, ways for ending the arms race and for disarmament, and problems of international detente, mutual cooperation, the renouncing of violence and the struggle for the peoples' independence.

On the Process of Deterioration of the Bourgeois Society

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director of Institute for International Politics and Economics, member of EINHEIT editorial board, chairman of Scientific Council for Research on Imperialism; pp 1146-1152]

[Text] The dynamics and continuity of true-to-life socialism, on the one hand, and the sharpening of the contradictions in the capitalist world, on the other, characterize the process of deterioration of the bourgeois society. The economic, social, political and ideological foundations of the capitalist system are being more and more undermined, and the contrast is deepening between capitalism and the essential problems of existence in mankind resulting from the needs of social progress, so that not only the material but also the sociopolitical preconditions are ripening for an acceleration of the world revolutionary process.

No Room for Anti-Sovietism in Africa

[Summary of article by Ahmed Azad, originally published in South African Communist Party journal THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English, No 66, Third Quarter 1976; pp 1153-1156]

[Text] Firmly based on Marxist-Leninist positions, this article, offensively and convincingly, takes issue with the lies of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism about the aid the Soviet Union and the

other fraternal socialist countries are providing for the young national states and the liberation movements in Africa. The imperialist attempts at driving a wedge between the national liberation movements and true-to-life socialism are rigorously rebuked, and a clear allegiance is pronounced to proletarian internationalism.

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EAST GERMANY

ADAMECK DISCUSSES INFLUENCE OF GDR TELEVISION

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1515 GMT 12 Dec 76 DW

[Interview with Hein Adameck, chairman of the State Committee for Television of the GDR Council of Ministers, in the feature "Television Press Conference," with unidentified journalists--recorded, no place indicated]

[Question] Has television some influence on the dress of young musicians and beat groups? Some of them seem so very strange to me, hairy and bearded, like in a masquerade, so that I am asking myself whether our television does not have an educational function there, a function creating some taste. Or am I asking too much of television?

[Answer] We do not have just influence, we have responsibility there. This cannot be ignored. We are responsible for what is being sung there and how, as well as for the taste of it--without wanting to be too petty there. Of course an artist must look like an artist, there must be something to it. Where will I draw the limit? Where the song has nothing to do with singing and where the casting is the main thing, one must be more radical in saying no. You are not the only one to remind us of our responsibility for the education of the young people. That is absolutely clear.

[Question] A listener requested us to ask you the following question: One of my spheres of interest is the policy and economy of capitalist states, their parties, and the background of it all. Is it not worth considering to cast regular features, maybe every second week, of half an hour's duration in the form of documentaries with some comment? Television has special possibilities of dealing with this issue. Did you consider that?

[Answer] The idea is correct. We have been considering how to use our improved reportage in our own country for keeping the capitalist media with their barbarian way of life and the shortcomings of their society from telling us how one should live. Every one of us knows it, we are telecasting it: Our families can look forward to a stable future. We have no reason at all to hide anything. We can be offensive and answer everything. I am most positive and I hope to be able to say something positive in early January.

[Question] An additional question in regard to the newsreel program and the time it is telecast. Both channels carry the newsreel at the same time. Can it not be telecast at different times? I am not even asking for different newsreels, but at least for different telecasting times?

[Answer] Even a simple repeat is asking for more effort. The temptation is great. But the audience will say correctly: Now they are showing the same newsreel again which they telecasted half an hour ago. There must have been fresh news in the meantime. A quarter of a year later we would be compelled to produce a new program. I think so at least according to the experience we have made. We do not have the strength for doing it now. But we know about this problem.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GREATER CARE IN USING SPARE PARTS URGED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German Nov 76 pp 485-486

[Article by Col Dr J. Oreschko]

[Text] Thrifty use of replacement parts, fuels, lubricants, heating oil and other expendable materials is an important task sector of materials economy in NVA [National People's Army]. To exhaust all reserves in this respect is one of the requirements of our ninth party congress.

Experience gained in the NVA as well as in the national economy shows that this task is of basic significance. Further growth of our economy's inventory of basic means requires not only a continuously growing demand for energy media and raw materials, but also more and more extensive expenditure for replacement parts and expendable materials. In the material-technical area of national defense, the units and troop components are also being increasingly equipped with modern weapons and devices. The inventory of weaponry and military equipment is being expanded and modernized. This circumstance results in a greater and greater need for replacement parts, construction groups, and consumable materials for maintaining and increasing fighting power and combat readiness as well as for creating reserves. This development is also influenced by the further temporal foreshortening of the processes of material-technical equipment, that is of modernization and armament replacement, as a consequence of scientific-technical progress and of the revolution in military affairs.

Because weapons and equipment are subject to severe stress during their construction and deployment, multifaceted problems of maintenance and repair necessarily result. Consequently, the need for replacement parts, components, and interchangeable parts has likewise risen. Measured by the planned volume of material equipment, 16-18 percent of this equipment alone is on the average needed every year for replacement parts and components. For fuels and lubricants, the necessary means are likewise constantly increasing.

As is apparent from the central estimates of the agencies of the GDR Council of Ministers, this problem of increased expenditures for supplying replacement parts and expendable materials occupies a similar position in the most varied sectors of industry, agriculture, commerce. etc.

The situation leads to the task of paying more attention to the inter-relations existing between the requirements of materials economy and the supply of replacement parts and expendable material supply. This task applies generally to management and planning activity, but also to training and instructional work.

This requirement is also made still more severe by the fact that the situation in the area of securing the supply of replacement parts is in part extraordinarily tense. The situation can be mastered economically only with great difficulty and requires long-term solutions.

Upon the directive of the Minister for National Defense, a series of measures for reducing the consumption of replacement parts and for saving fuels, lubricants, heating oil, and other expendable materials were introduced last year in the NVA. The results achieved with this saving are considerable and already amount to several million marks. The issue now is to continue along this path successfully.

In particular, the following measures are involved:

- application of realistic utilization and consumption standards,
- increased regeneration of individual parts and components,
- increasing the qualifications of the personnel for servicing armaments and equipment in order to avoid disturbances and failures,
- better care and maintenance of equipment,
- determining and prescribing the most effective types of repair.

The results already achieved with this program prove that a more comprehensive and complex approach makes possible the achievement of visible progress. Besides lowering consumption e.g., of fuels and lubricants, the consumption of replacement parts, which was hitherto anticipated on the average, could likewise be significantly reduced.

I would like to discuss in more detail three of the above-mentioned measures, because it is precisely here that decisive changes are possible and necessary, and because many problems also still require further study.

1. Standardization Work

The experience collected makes clear that we must address ourselves still more seriously to the determination, application, and implementation of realistic utilization standards and material consumption standards. Significant reserves still lie in this work of standardization. Many of the actual optimum values which have been achieved are not yet general property.

As practical work in this field shows, the work of standardization requires thorough analysis. This means: The development of consumption must be thoroughly studied, its causes must be determined, and conclusions for further measures must be set down.

A proven means here is comparison between similar units and users, for example between two or more companies, battalions, etc. Comparative study entails many interesting and useful aspects and uncovers many reserves.

The work of standardization confirms again and again: To achieve and maintain exact standards cannot be a one-time task; constant work is required. This results quite simply from practice, from the continuously changing technical conditions, as well as from the persons themselves who must master this equipment.

A decisive starting point for good standardization work is to include these problems into the scientific-technical task definition of armaments and equipment which are to be newly developed.

With the consumption of replacement parts, we naturally also have to deal with many-layered ideological problems. Such problems must again and again be placed into the center of leadership and management activity. One of the principal questions is explication with the so-called throw-away theory. This theory has been cultivated in capitalistic society. It does indeed provide high profits for the monopolies, but at the same time it leads to extravagant waste of material values. Because of the increasingly strained world position in raw materials, it is today already being modified within capitalism. For our socialist society, such a bourgeois theory is in any case unsuitable.

2. Maintenance of Technical Equipment and Specification of the Most Suitable Types of Repair

In the workshops of the armed forces and likewise also in our public economy, military equipment is primarily repaired according to the principle of component replacement. This method on the one hand affords relatively quick restoration of work and deployment readiness of military technical equipment, and consequently, because of its expeditiousness, it decisively influences the deployment coefficient, which determines combat readiness. But even apart from this, there are sufficient examples where processing times are nevertheless too long and where armament and equipment consequently is not available to the troops quickly enough.

Exchange of components is a repair method that has been used for many years. However, when there are supply difficulties, real problems occur. Furthermore, replacement of components is quite material-intensive.

Extensive replacement supplies are necessary. The need for replacement parts and components is enormous. Costs for this type of repair are also considerable. In the interest of high combat readiness, while simultaneously meeting material-economic and military-economic requirements, further studies are therefore necessary, in order to determine where lies the optimum between regeneration, repair, and replacement of parts and components.

Problems similar to those of the armed forces likewise occur in the most varied sectors of our public economy. Naturally, the respective situation is to be regarded in a differentiated manner. However, since a general problem complex is involved here, the Council of Ministers has determined that operations with repair tasks will in the future be accountable and evaluated according to the "own performance" index. The purpose of this is to have a stimulating effect on high material consumption.

3. The Most Effective Type of Repair

Another task is to analyze the suitability of previously used types: damage group-, principal-, and medium-repair. Since definite regulated services are set down for these types of repair, several parts are replaced which have not yet worn.

Repair according to finding is a new type of repair. During 1975, using this type of repair, the troop was able to reduce its material and financial expenditures, especially with motor vehicle repairs. With this type of repair, considerable quantities of replacement parts and expendable materials are being saved. But further studies are required here, since, e.g., motor vehicles of older types and years, which are part of the inventory, are used longer because of their planned relief and repair programs, and in part, must be maintained with large material expenditures.

In parallel with specification of the type of repair, all supervisors must further pursue the further qualification of the personnel who service, maintain, and care for technical materials and equipment. It is a matter of experience that technically correct utilization and maintenance has a decisive influence on the expenditure of replacement parts and expendable materials. Failures through maintenance and service defects cause additional and frequently also high economic expenditures.

These problems of materials economy can naturally not be solved in the short-term period. They require that the collaboration between repair operations of the public economy and users of the technical materials, a collaboration which is already well developed in various areas, be extended. They also require strict management and leadership activity on all planes.

Building on the state of military-economic thinking and acting which the members of our army have achieved, the issue is, now after the ninth party congress of our SED, to guarantee combat readiness with high effectiveness and with maintenance of the materials economy required by the party and the government.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

AID TO PALESTINIANS--An Interflug plane carrying another solidarity consignment for the Palestinian people landed at Beirut airport today. The cargo of blankets and medical supplies was handed over by GDR ambassador Bruno Jedlaczek to leading PLO representatives. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 16 Dec 76 LD]

WOUNDED ANGOLANS LEAVE--Rostock--After 7 months of medical treatment, the last of the 53 seriously wounded members of the Angolan Liberation Army, FAPLA, were given a warm send off at Rostock on Thursday. They had undergone secondary operations at Rostock hospital and been fitted with artificial limbs. After their treatment by a team of Rostock doctors, the 53 seriously wounded, among whom were the two FAPLA commanders Adalberto Vieira Lopez and Joao Angelino Dalta, can now move again without help from another person. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1907 GMT 16 Dec 76 LD]

FILM, TV DELEGATION TO IRAQ--A delegation of the GDR Union of Film and Television Creative Workers headed by the Union's vice president, Lothar Bellag, paid a visit to Iraq upon the invitation of the Iraqi Artists Union. As a result of the visit a working agreement between the unions of both countries was concluded. [Text] [East Berlin FF DABEL in German No 52, Dec 76 p 2]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

BOOK AWARD JURY DENIED PERMISSION TO MEET

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 9 Nov 76 p 3

[Article by Achille Di Giacomo: "'Book of the Year' Prohibited in Budapest: The Award Will Be Given in Rome"]

[Text] After first saying "yes," the Hungarian authorities have said "no" to awarding in their country the international literary award that, in recent years, went to Solzhenitsyn.

"The eighth annual Book of the Year award has been postponed to 13 December and will take place in Rome," declared Alberto Marotta, president of the Award Committee, on his return from Budapest. The jury was supposed to meet and vote in the Hungarian capital on 2 November, but the Hungarian authorities, who had at first shown great interest in having this cultural initiative take place in their country, acted right at the moment when the jury and its retinue of cultural representatives and journalists were making ready to depart, revoking their agreement to the event and at the same time warning journalists that they were absolutely forbidden to practice their profession while in Budapest. The jury and reporters expected this would happen, even though it is not clear what motives impelled the Hungarian authorities to cancel the affair. In Budapest, although no official contacts of any sort were made, it was possible to ascertain the reason for this sudden change of position. It is obviously a very unfortunate misunderstanding. According to the Hungarians, in fact, the Book of the Year has a political stance that they do not share. In recent years, the prize was given on two separate occasions to Solzhenitsyn for the 'Gulag Archipelago' and to Angelo Maria Ripellino for 'Magic Prague,' two authors and two works that the Hungarian regime does not view very favorably at all. The greatest misunderstanding is due to the fact that the Hungarian authorities seem to have been unaware that the prize is awarded by a free vote of all Italian professional journalists."

The episode referred to in the declaration released to the press by the Award Committee president, Marotta, a publisher, appears to be, within severe limits, extremely serious, and seems to uphold, furthermore, those

skeptical about the possibility of a true, constructive dialogue between the Free World and the communist countries. The present writer has followed this affair closely, having gone to Budapest with the Italian group, and he feels obligated to make a report to the readership.

First of all, it should be noted that the Book of the Year prize, started in 1969 through the efforts of Neapolitan publishers, is a literary award--also open to works of foreign authors translated into our language--that is intended to disseminate abroad the voice of Italian culture today through both conventions and round-table discussions. In the first 3 years, the exhibits were held on the liner "Caribia" on a cruise through the Mediterranean, with stops at Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca, Tunis and La Valletta. It was an experimental but profitable phase that attracted great interest among the Spanish, Tunisian and Maltese visitors for an itinerant publishers' display on board the ship.

In 1972, the prize began to take on its present form by taking support from qualified organizations: Institutes of Italian Culture in major foreign cities. At the New York institute, its success was noteworthy, thanks especially to the enthusiastic participation of the Italian-American colony. In 1973, in Copenhagen, the discussion of the books in competition was followed by an Italo-Danish roundtable on the relations between the two cultures. In 1974, the prize went to London and then, for an evening devoted to analysis of James Joyce's relations with Italy, to Dublin. In 1975 the books were discussed in Hamburg, and the convention in Berlin was on the theme of "Thomas Mann and Italy," on the occasion of the author's centennial.

During this period, the system adopted--which is still in force--became that of the "double jury": a first, smaller commission, made up of literary critics, chooses a set of works in the course of a public discussion; then the finalists are submitted to a "big jury" for the final decision. This larger jury is made up of all Italian professional journalists, who have been invited to vote by mail. The trips abroad, along with the discussions, take place traditionally in the first week of November, which permits the public to take advantage of both the exhibit and travel. The exhibit has its fans, who follow it about as though it were a Neapolitan soccer team. The vote tally and announcement of the winner come in May or June in the participating city. The winners so far have been: Carlo Bernari, for "The Radiant Days"; Henry Miller, for "Like the Hummingbird"; Alberto Moravia, for "He and I"; Fruttero and Lucentini, for "Sunday's Lady"; Angelo Maria Ripellino, for "Magic Prague"; Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for "Gulag Archipelago"; Peter Nichols, for "Italia, Italia." It is apparent that these writers are often of ideological orientations often quite different from the Hungarians'.

This year, the Cultural Association for the Progress of Southern Italy, which had organized the award with the patronage of the Campania Region, planned to have the November debate take place in Budapest in order to

extend the dialogue to an Eastern European country. At the same time, planning was begun for a convention on "Hungarian Literature in Italy." At the close of deliberations this spring, contacts were initiated with the collaboration of the Italian Embassy in the Hungarian capital, and at first the Budapest Institute for International Cultural Relations appeared to be well disposed toward the initiative. The difficulties emerged gradually, as the Hungarians--the more mistrustful of the two parties involved--requested guarantees (for example, that two Italian scholars they could trust would participate in the convention, Professors Santarcangeli and Alberti, noted experts in Hungarian literature) and assurances that works written by refugees from the East would not be included in the "circle" of works to be considered. (In the preliminary, 58-volume list was included "Trusty Ruslan," by Vladimov, a novel about a guard dog in Soviet prison camps. This novel did not appear, incidentally, on the second list, which is restricted to new titles, but there also appeared--and the book is still in competition--"A Slice of Life," by Giorgio Amendola.)

Obviously, reading the list of prize winners, on which the names of Ripellino and especially Solzhenitsyn appear, made the Hungarian authorities suspicious. Besides, it was feared that the convention's being scheduled, by a fortuitous coincidence, for 4 November--that is, the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet repression of the Budapest revolt--might have created an embarrassing situation for them from a political standpoint (a free discussion is, by its very nature, uncontrollable...). Thus, initial approval was transformed into opposition to the initiative. The Italian group, which was already in the process of leaving, was told that the two cultural exhibits would have to be considered cancelled from the program and that the trip would therefore be only a tourist event.

So it happened. In the course of their stay in Budapest, writers, critics, journalists and fans have played the part of tourists solicitously attended by the state travel agency, IBUSZ. Under these conditions, i.e., tourism, it must be said that things went swimmingly: the Hungarians, according to their traditions, were courteous and affable hosts. Suffice it to mention the warm welcome given the group by the mayor of Laiosmisze, a town of the "puszta."

All this, however, does not wipe out the more important fact--the "no" to the award and the convention--and it does not appear inopportune to note that in the final analysis the Italian organizers proved to be too trusting and optimistic, in the sense that they thought they could move about in a communist country with the same freedom and lack of constraint that they are used to in the West. The conclusions to be drawn from this "Budapest Adventure" (to recall the title of a famous novel by Ferenc Kormendi) should be quite instructive for us Italians, and especially in these days.

But are we still capable of paying attention to the lessons--whether great or small--that experience teaches us?

KLIMCZAK STRESSES PRINCIPAL DIRECTIONS IN PARTY TRAINING

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish Oct 76 pp 4-6

[Article by Wieslaw Klimczak, deputy member of the Central Committee of the PZPR: head of the Department of Ideological-Educational Work of the PZPR Central Committee]

[Text] We begin a new year of political education following the 4th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and momentous speech of the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Comrade Edward Gierek delivered at the meeting with the personnel of the Transportation Equipment Plant in Mielec. The substance of the pronouncements of E. Gierek defines the aggressive program of realization of the resolution of the 7th congress and map out directions of the action of the Party and State as well as ways of overcoming temporary stresses which were caused by the dynamic development of Poland. These pronouncements should become the subject of careful study within the whole educational system of the party.

The meeting of the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee with a group of prominent lecturers, which is now traditional, was the central event of the inauguration of the party training year. It was followed by the meetings of the ideological-political actives in all voivodships, enterprises, communes and colleges, at which the social-economical situation of the country was presented and the aggressive tasks for the next months of the current year and the next year were defined.

Each year of training work brings about the progress in this field of the party activity. We have already a stabilized, universal training system, its material base is developing, and we are applying consistently the principle of supplying lecturers and trainees with the necessary training aids, particularly with textbooks, and the experience of the training cadre and its skill in using modern audio-visual means is increasing.

Aware of the results already achieved and at the same time conscious of the weaknesses, we must note that the comprehensive and rather coherent system of training does not completely fulfill as yet the propaganda role and does not influence effectively opinions and attitudes of party members

because of its being burdened by school-like, academic, passive methods and habits. Although, for example, we undertook in the economical training a widely conceived subject matter of prices, wages and market, nevertheless the whole system of training has not been able, along with other forms of ideological activity, to overcome psychological resistance and to shape rational outlook in this question.

In recent years we have accomplished much in training, but we still are faced with further important tasks. We must impart to party training a more propaganda-wise character in order to overcome the passive, objectivist-theoretical forms of imparting Marxist-Leninist tenets and to link the training more strongly with the interpretation of the party line and decision. The party training should to a greater extent persuade, propagandize, argue and bind the members of the party with its policies.

It should in this way, constitute a permanent form of constant dialogue of the party with society and the place of consultation and discussion on the most vital decisions concerning affairs of the state and nation. The party training is one of the links of the system of socialist democracy. It cannot, however, become a permanent referendum but it should serve for the gathering of opinions as well as for the consolidation of convictions. The training should more efficiently generalize accomplishments of the socioeconomic development of the country in the realization of resolutions of the 6th and 7th Congresses of the PZPR, to oppose the belittling of our evident results, and to impart the feeling of optimism and faith in the rightness of the strategy of a dynamic development.

The style of party work and attitudes of party member--which all party channels and organizations should develop more intensively, through, among other things, party training--should comprise the task of uncompromising combating of abuse and neglect at working places and in the immediate surroundings, and the readiness of active disagreement with any manifestations of weakening the ideological-moral unity of the nation and hindering of the pace of development. Each group of trainees should be made aware of the fact that the support for the general party line and the economical and political decisions should be transferred into action and practice by efficient and qualitatively better work in each position.

Worthy of blame and disapproval are individuals and groups that disregard social interests, are parasites at society's expense, transgress the rules of law, do not fulfill their duties, shirk their duties. The party training should stimulate party members to oppose such persons and attitudes assumed by them and to create the atmosphere of trust, support and cooperation with organs of administration and of law and order, which oppose these anti-social attitudes.

A certain difficulty in strengthening good citizenship attitudes, in observing Party discipline and in the active involvement in work benefiting the country is the lack of resistance on some part of the society to

temporary difficulties, discontent caused by casual complaints, impatience brought about by the lack of social consciousness or unwillingness to accept argumentation that between a pertinent plan and the resulting effect a certain period of time must elapse filled with persistent endeavor. Each party training unit should be a place of critical analysis of such attitudes, of the resistance to manifestations of such tendencies, and a group of people in which its members should arm themselves with arguments and know-how aimed at consolidating attitudes for an active and persistent realization of the party line and a disciplined support of both its general assumptions and its concrete decisions bringing us step-by-step closer to the realization of the stipulated goals.

A special trait that should be stressed among members of the party in the course of this year's training--based on the principles of communist ethics, rules of party policies, and theoretical assumptions of Marxism-Leninism--is the persistence and consistence in the realization of tasks of the socio-economic development of the country, belief in the correctness of decisions and solutions adopted by the party, and an aggressive and energetic activity in defense of the party line and its everyday implementation. We intend to impart greater militancy to organizations through training, to develop a propaganda role for every party member, and to transform training units into centers of militancy and conditioning of party members to courageous and convincing ideological and educational influence.

Party organizations, lecturers, training groups, and all party activists should concentrate their attention on carrying out the training in the following main directions:

First--in all forms of training to implement a program of economical education of society, increasing and consolidating its awareness that the economic laws in the socialist economy cannot be neglected.

To take up chiefly such problems as the quality and efficiency of management, the value of time, thrift, national income, market, prices and wages, and questions of the increase of agricultural and food production. This will be helped by the two new training cycles being introduced this year and devoted to problems of the efficiency and quality of work and to problems of national income, prices, wages, and market.

Second--in all forms of training a program should be implemented consisting of patriotic, civic, and state-oriented education of society, developing a sense of civic rights and duties, high national dignity, and a duty to the state.

The 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR has introduced in the program of ideological and educational work of the party an extremely essential task of consolidating civic attitudes, education of the society in a spirit of deep understanding for the precedence of state interests, development of civic discipline, the sense of duty to the state and

responsibility for its fate. This places before the whole ideological front, including party training, the task of deploying wide-scale ideological-educational offensive. The problem of the reinforcing the state as the highest form of the organization of the life of society and the fullest exponent of the national interests should be most prominently reflected in the organization of all programs of party training.

In this connection, it is necessary to take up chiefly such problems as the essence of socialist democracy and modern forms of its manifestations in Poland, in particular the system of consultation and discussion with the people as democratic forms of the management of the state, problems of public law and order, social and working discipline, and legal and political standards of the society.

The above will also be helped by a new cycle of training introduced this year and devoted to problems of patriotic, civic, and international education.

Third--all forms of training should increasingly contribute to the strengthening of international principles, education in the spirit of friendship with the Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries, in the spirit of solidarity and support of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the whole world. For this purpose we shall continue to spread the knowledge of problems involved in building a developed communist society in the USSR, comprised in the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the achievements in building developed socialism, contained in the resolutions of congresses of fraternal parties, to spread the knowledge of the program of complex integration of countries of the socialist community, adopted at the recent CEMA session, and to increase the knowledge about the struggle and activities of communist and worker parties, and about the struggle of nations for progress and independence.

This should be helped primarily by previously introduced programatic cycles devoted to the study of historical experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR and achievements of socialist countries, members of CEMA, in building a developed socialist society.

Fourth--all forms of training should disseminate the idea of respect for work and conviction that work is a basic sense of human life and a source of personal and social well-being, and that it is worthwhile to work well. The conviction should be publicized that work is the way to success and personal satisfaction, is the source of the strength for the country and its position in the world. It is necessary to show moral and economical satisfaction in good work and popularize the principles of good and efficient organization.

The training should contain actual, specific examples derived from experience and achievements of factory crews and leading farmers, enlivened by profiles of outstanding workers, and should stimulate further search for ways to enhance the effects of professional work in the sphere of activity of party members.

This purpose will be served by the new cycle of training entitled "Honest Work a Source of Prosperity for Poles and Strength for Poland."

Fifth--in all forms of party training it is necessary to implement a program of education resulting in an enlightened and well-educated person, conversant with laws of nature and society and behaving in accordance with the principles of socialist morality.

It is mandatory to popularize such values as the proper understanding of equality and social justice, tolerance and mutual friendliness between people, the sense of responsibility for the care of elderly persons, education of children and youth and strengthening the family.

The above will mainly be helped by the new training cycle entitled "The Problems of Socialist Family."

We have pointed out general tendencies and most important tasks to be performed in the current year. Let us still dwell on key problems on which we should concentrate the attention of particular social-organizational circles.

A special attention should be given to the middle level technical supervision--master workmen--who are organizers of production and basic professional activities of most closely knit production collectives. They shape directly, daily, through friendly contact, the attitudes of their workers. The ideological-educational work with the master workmen is, therefore, an extremely important factor, since through them--by raising their ideological-moral level--we can influence the attitude of the members of brigades and departments as well as the rest of the work force. Thus, it is in the interest of each factory organization to give master workmen particular attention and to intensify the ideological-educational work with them.

With regard to workers at large in enterprises, one should concentrate in the first place on principles which will promote the understanding of the need for the improvement of the quality and efficiency of production and the increase of the production of marketable products. This is connected to the entire complex of training and educational tasks; pointing out the need for the improvement in qualifications, observance of work organization and technological disciplines, a careful, thrifty attitude toward consumption of materials, raw materials and energy, maintaining working places of entire plants in good state, stimulating the ambition for honest work, perfecting production and promoting the good name of the establishments.

In sectors encompassing farmers and other groups of workers connected with agricultural production and rural economy, the attention of party organizations should be concentrated on saturating the content of training with problems contained in the materials of the 4th Plenum of the PZPR Central

Committee; that is, mostly with tasks of increased vegetable production and animal husbandry, and an obligation to rationally utilize every plot of cultivated land. The party training should popularize and reinforce the idea that honest management, a full utilization of production capacities of the farm and fulfillment of obligations toward the state is a civic duty and patriotic task of the farmer.

We also must intensify ideological-educational work and training in the academic circles, among workers of science and students. The training must reveal immediate and future work and civic obligations of academic youth and must contribute toward consolidating their active attitude toward party policy and tasks of socioeconomic development of the country.

We should also improve ideological-educational and training work among construction and state management and economic workers, and among creative and cultural workers.

On the threshold of the new year of party training it is possible to express a conviction that the effort of party organizations, the involvement and ability of lecturers, the understanding of the aims of training and discipline of its participants will influence work to become better and more efficient, intensify the confidence of society in the party and its leadership, and strengthen the belief in the unswerving and correct general party line adopted at the 6th and 7th Congresses of PZPR.

1015

CSO: 2600

POLAND

COMMENT ON RECENT POLISH GOVERNMENT-PARTY CHANGES NOTED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 5-6 Dec 76 p 3

[Text] The end of the Central Committee Plenum of the Polish Communist Party and the Sejm session last Thursday in Warsaw brought important shifts in the personnel at the regime's power center. Two results stand out: The rise of Olszowski and Karkoszka, and the demotion of Szydlak, up to now Gierek's right hand from the ranks of the Upper Silesian group.

Change Pregnant of Future Events

Both the politicians who have been appointed secretaries in the Central Committee are remarkable personalities. Stefan Olszowski, formerly minister of foreign affairs, born 1931, is 18 years younger than Gierek. As the former head of the Academic Youth and later of the party youth organization he has a wide following in the party apparatus, suitable for later expansion. His appointment to the party center means that a crown prince has been chosen, and that from now on Warsaw will have a power alternative. Alojzy Karkoszka, also a member of the middle generation, hitherto deputy chairman and expert on economics, rose from the Warsaw party apparatus and later worked in Gdansk where--in contrast to other functionaries--he displayed prudence and skill at the time of the December 1970 workers uprising. Both are considered patriots and--a matter of particular importance at this juncture--remained skeptical regarding Gierek's concept of the "great leap forward." These advocates of a realistic policy are likely to obtain key posts in the party central office. Olszowski will be the second man after Gierek, competent for ideology, foreign policy, information and propaganda; Karkoszka will be the economics supremo.

Other Consequences

The changes in the government crew are closely linked with the above. Jan Szydlak was removed from the party leadership. He is an Upper Silesian and long-time Gierek associate. Hitherto he combined enormous powers in economics, ideological and propaganda matters but failed in all three departments. He will now be put on probation as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Premier Jaroszewicz spoke in rather a subdued key at the Sejm session.

For the first time in his career only excerpts from his speech on economic policy were broadcast by Warsaw Radio, and even they were paraphrased not given verbatim. In addition he was compelled to conduct barely veiled auto-criticism. He has been given two more deputies: The economist Secomski from the Planning Commission and the former first secretary of the Warsaw party organization, Kempa. The latter's transfer to the government apparatus is the second sensational event in the Polish change-over. It means that Kempa, at least for the time being, ceases to be a potential rival of Olszowski in the matter of Gierek's succession.

Other changes are of secondary significance. The new Foreign Minister Emil Wojtaszek is a Gierek confidant and one of the so-called "French Group": Party functionaries who, at one time, either worked in France or Belgium or were born there to Polish emigrants. He has been Polish Ambassador in Paris for several years. He is not considered an outstanding personality, and Olszowski should be able to control him without much trouble. In fact this is the only concession made to Gierek by the rebellious anti-Upper Silesian opposition in the Central Committee, which is composed of members from the capital and the northern regions. Gierek was compelled to dismiss one of his favorites, the former Minister of Domestic Trade and Services Gawrysiak. The latter will be exiled as ambassador to some country in the Eastern Bloc.

11698

CSO: 2300

YUGOSLAVIA

DEFENSE SECRETARY ISSUES ORDER TO IMPROVE EFFICIENCY IN MILITARY

Belgrade VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 5, Sep-Oct 76 pp 3-12

[Unsigned editorial: "Rational and Economical Use of Funds in the YPA and Upcoming Tasks"]

[Text] On 31 May and 1 June 1976 the concluding conference on rationality and economic efficiency in the handling of funds in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] was held in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense; participants included representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, commands of armies, air and air defense forces, the Naval District, and the Titograd Military District, as well as certain lower commands.

The preparations, the conferences which have been held in commands of armies, air and air defense forces, the Naval District and the Titograd Military District, as well as the proceedings of this conference demonstrate that in practice the battle has definitely been won over views which hold that the issue of economic efficiency and rationality has to do with peripheral problems and economy drives and that this primarily concerns the lower units where funds are actually spent.

The results of the conference demonstrated that the question of rationality and economic efficiency in the handling of funds in the military has been given its proper importance and has been taken as a requirement which must be incorporated and ever present in all our activity at all levels of command, beginning with the taking of the most important decisions and ending with the performance of everyday tasks. This conception should be elaborated and implemented in practice. This is not merely the result of the proceedings of that conference, but of all our activity over the last several years, activity in which a notable contribution has been made by all influential factors in the military: commanding officers, commands and LCY organizations.

The conference adopted the unanimous position that rational and economical use of funds is primarily a question of rational and efficient organization, methods and procedures; of command and decisionmaking; of optimum decisionmaking at all levels; of proper assignment of priority among

tasks and needs; of the application of scientific principles in solving problems and performing tasks; of the specialized training of officers; of maximum mobilization of all influential forces and of developing an awareness of the need for a responsible attitude toward tasks and toward the funds which society provides so that maximum results in terms of the combat readiness of the armed forces can be achieved with the available means and so that our country's defense capability increases steadily.

A list of the essential problems which were dominant at the conference in the principal address, the discussion, and the opening and closing addresses would be basically as follows:

Activity aimed at better utilization of plant and equipment and every dinar of public funds allocated to the YPA is very important at this moment when significant efforts are being made to stabilize the economy, to carry out a number of economy measures so that the planned growth of the social product can be achieved and the reproductive capability [yield of amortization and reinvestment funds] of the economy as a whole is strengthened. Everything done jointly in the economic and defense fields must conform to the principles outlined in the constitution. As a major consumer of goods and services, the military can exert a strong influence on overall economic development through its behavior on the market and the makeup of its expenditures. The behavior of all military structures in their business operation, in their management and handling of complicated plant and equipment and in their handling of financial funds appropriated from the budget reflects our political awareness, our attitude toward the tasks and goals set forth by the 10th LCY Congress.

All decisionmakers are responsible for improving economic efficiency and rationality in the military, and the degree of success in performing these tasks will depend largely on their attitude and work. Command and administration have a particularly important role here, since they make the decisions which must represent not only the interests of combat readiness, but also economic factors. Another reason is that they perform their tasks within the command mechanism, which puts them in a position of influencing all processes from the planning of funds and materiel to their use and expenditure. In addition to these entities, a considerable influence can also be exerted by the LCY organization, the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia, the trade union and others, and it is only if they work together that the desired results can be achieved and all the assigned tasks performed.

The role of the subjective factor depends largely on the attitude and understanding of the importance of and need for constant insistence on rational and economical use of funds. This conference, like the conferences held in military districts, showed that the entire military understands that this is its contribution to strengthening combat readiness and to improving the overall level. The narrow views of the past concerning thrift have been overcome. It is now understood that all transactions concerning

materiel and equipment must conform to good business principles, which means that they must be rational and economical. For that reason this complex task cannot be the exclusive assignment only of those actually carrying out the missions, but by and large the agencies of the rear should also participate.

This complex activity must be a concern of all structures and individuals in the YPA, but above all a concern of the command and administration. The numerous discussions held during the conference, in which the participants included field commanders, demonstrated that this is understood to be a joint task and that these structures understand that they have an interest in its performance.

The decisions made at all levels must be assessed not only in terms of technical preparedness for combat [elsewhere defined as "level of training, mobility, maneuverability and firepower"--Translator's note] but also from the standpoint of the amount of funds committed and the economic results that can be expected.

In the domain of material and technical support good regulations are largely in effect to facilitate full performance of the assigned tasks on time. However, results in the performance of tasks may differ. There is accordingly a need for the initiative and experiences of those who have achieved better results to be used all the way from the Federal Secretariat for National Defense down to the individual soldier. Not only that, there must be incentives based on results. Soldiers, officers and commands should be stimulated to take a creative approach, and the savings must be left with those who have worked the hardest and must be used to finance those tasks which could not be covered by the plan and to raise the overall standard.

The sophisticated modern equipment which already exists in the YPA and which will be supplied in the period to come necessitates ever larger expenditures on operation, maintenance and training. In order to ensure the best possible use of present equipment and the introduction of new equipment, syllabi and curricula, maintenance schedules and storage procedures must be updated on an ongoing basis, and lines of communication must always be open with Yugoslav manufacturers of armament and equipment. All of this makes for continuity, good organization of work and up-to-date documentation. Technical modernization presupposes a futurological approach to the solving of personnel needs in terms of the various specialties required. On the whole the introduction of new materiel presupposes that commands will reassess the present system of equipment handling; the entire system must be adjusted to human, physical and technical capabilities.

Procedures and methods and scientific management must be constantly improved on, and this must be a joint task of all structures. Commands must make a particular commitment to this, since they can make a direct

Taking as his point of departure these positions which were dominant in the proceedings of the conference and also the overall results in preparation of the material for the conference, the discussions and the proposals, the federal defense secretary has issued an order to enforce and implement the following resolutions:

1. Ever greater modernization, better and more up-to-date equipment and armament of the Yugoslav People's Army, the combat strategy that has been adopted, and improvement of the system of rear support necessitate that work be so organized as to promote effective accomplishment of all tasks assigned and achievement of an adequate level of combat readiness with the smallest possible expenditure of money. It is therefore necessary to constantly make critical reassessments and improve the management system and methodology and to make a constant effort to find a more effective and efficient military structure of units and commands, better organization of work and improved activity of commands, better followup, and greater accountability for uneconomical commitment and expenditure of funds when decisions are made and tasks are performed.

2. In the task-planning system there must be an overall linkage so that there is uniformity at all levels in work schedules and plans of tasks and financing; this would put an end to the separate planning of tasks without planning funds at the same time. The essential thing in planning is to cover the entire activity, all tasks and needs, and to make a maximum effort to correctly assess the priority of various needs and to make the optimum decisions, so that the best results in raising the level of combat readiness can be achieved with the available funds. Certain changes will consequently have to be made in the regulations, and more functional methodological solutions will have to be developed for planning and for monitoring the fulfillment of plans and assessment of results; specifically, criteria to be used in objectifying the distribution of funds and in assessing success in the performance of tasks must be improved.

3. The correctness of the orientation adopted in the new system of rear support, which incorporates more economical and efficient arrangements, has been demonstrated. We need to step up the process of unifying rear functions, taking particular care to provide for an unimpeded transition to a war footing. In the units and garrisons where experiments are not being conducted, we should immediately begin specific preparations on the basis of what we have learned from the garrisons where experiments have been conducted.

4. There is no justification for the positions taken by individuals that the demands for economical and efficient handling of funds could have an adverse effect on the performance of tasks and the execution of commands. Failure to perform tasks and to carry out orders in whatever domain cannot be justified by the demands for economical handling of funds and for economy. Proper planning should ensure that tasks which cannot be financed with the available funds are not assigned. This requirement

contribution to greater effectiveness and economic efficiency. This presupposes improvement of military organization, better followup, greater accountability, and so on.

The new system of rear support pursues the principle of unifying all logistics and medical support, which this system makes more effective. There is always a need in this connection to take into account the necessity of adapting to wartime conditions. First of all, the rear support system will be only as efficient and effective as the degree of its adoption and acceptance by all those concerned and as the degree of their constant work to improve it, work that must be done in connection with all efforts to improve the solutions embodied in our doctrine, within the framework of the overall conception, and to the degree that the material capabilities of the entire society are respected.

The role and tasks of the service are examined within the rear supply system. The judgment is that notable results have been achieved in this domain, representing a qualitative improvement. It has also been pointed out that use has not been made of the entire potential, and that there are still sizable opportunities to improve effectiveness and efficiency in business operations. The fact remains that competence in the fields of economics and finance is still not high enough in terms of overall approaches and in terms of the movement and circulation of funds and material. This is unquestionably a complicated problem area complicated even further by the present situation on the market for goods and services. But it can be mastered if all structures are well organized and focused to a greater extent on the key issues.

It has been observed that financial transactions represent an important factor, so that naturally there must be greater effectiveness in this area. It is a general impression that the responsible structures are still burdened with accounting approaches and solutions and those which are appropriate to the administrative system where budgetary appropriations are obtained from a cashier, while the economic factor is still not being sufficiently felt. In the economy the law of reproduction forces participants to find new solutions and make new efforts. In the YPA this must be the endeavor to achieve the planned level of technical preparedness for combat with the available funds. It has also been said that in our practical activity we incline toward administrative procedures which are frequently more extensive than the results they yield. This does not mean that procedures concerning shortages, damage, etc., ought to be neglected. On the contrary, this yields not only economic results, but also inculcates better attitudes, but we must bear in mind what is being achieved in this way as an overall effort.

It is in this context that in future the efforts and actions of all commands and commanding officers must be oriented toward rational and economical handling of funds in planning and carrying out their programs.

presupposes that all tasks are planned and performed according to their priority, that funds are used in the most economical way, and that the maximum overall results are achieved.

5. Trained military manpower should be used to avoid hiring the services of others for construction and repairs on other jobs. Many tasks and jobs can be done more economically this way, and doing jobs in various fields with one's own resources makes for better organization for wartime conditions when it will not be possible to use the civilian sector as we do in peacetime. Moreover, when formations are being designed, an effort should be made wherever possible to replace paid manpower with military personnel.

6. Particular attention should be paid to the appropriate training of personnel in economic matters. All our personnel must be familiar with the basic requirements and principles governing the use of funds and business operations in accordance with their positions. For certain jobs and tasks personnel should be trained in postgraduate study. This problem area must be appropriately reflected in the syllabi of all our schools, and not just as a separate field, but integrated into all subject matter in training and education, since economic requirements cannot be separated out of any field. We also need to organize seminars and courses and make better use of specialized training of officers for work on these problems, and we need to know the regulations. In all conferences and other forms of discussion of individual problems and tasks effectiveness and efficiency in the handling of funds should be appropriately discussed. Unless the use of funds is effective and efficient, there can be no effective and satisfactory performance of tasks and organization of life and work at any level or in any domain.

7. It is highly important to make the ultimate effort to simplify business and administrative procedures to the absolute limit. In spite of the results that have been achieved, business operation is an area that is still burdened with the old administrative methods, so that commanding officers are unnecessarily preoccupied and diverted from their principal tasks. This is still the principal shortcoming in our system. It is not a mere question of paperwork, but of procedures and methods which are deep-rooted and which prevent anything from being done without extensive correspondence and red tape. We must wage a persistent fight against these methods.

8. Sizable funds are being set aside for scientific research. It is not the funds which are standing in the way of achieving better results in this field, but the problem lies in better organization and greater effort to obtain results which are practical and applicable. That is where our focus should be in the future.

It is particularly true in the field of military economics that we must get away from excessively general discussion and debate of the subject and methods of military economics and the role of economists and orient ourselves toward the study of practical problems, toward finding practical

solutions, and toward offering proposals aimed at achieving practical results.

9. In spite of the results achieved in economical utilization of funds in the field of training and education, there are still cases of wastefulness (some units and military schools have built structures without using standard designs and have oversized classrooms whose equipment is not sufficiently functional, and so on). Success in training is not always in proportion to expenditures. The focus in this field must not be on increasing funds, but on updating planning, organization and the training process, on enforcement of the new criteria, on intensification and more efficient utilization of existing physical plants, on intensification of training in the proper use and maintenance of weapons, teaching equipment and other materiel, and on the development of the proper attitude of servicemen toward the funds and public property which society entrusts to them for use.

10. The management, use and maintenance of equipment have improved considerably in recent years. But we have not reached the ultimate. Further efforts need to be made to achieve higher operating efficiency and better maintenance of equipment.

Preparation for the purchase and acceptance of new equipment is not always thorough, which makes for additional expenditures and substantial financial waste. It is essential when new equipment is being introduced for all commands to reassess the present system and extent to which this equipment is used and the needs concerning training and combat readiness into conformity with human, physical and technical capabilities. The point of departure should be the potential use in training of the classroom, laboratory or display room, demonstration equipment, simulators, old equipment, and other aids.

11. With respect to more rational production and purchasing of combat equipment and armament and other materiel a critical analysis of the present status and the shortcomings and problems show that there is a considerable potential for still more economical and efficient use of the funds assigned to those purposes. Related efforts should be applied to the standardization of equipment (especially noncombat vehicles), to perfecting the purchasing system and the way purchasing is organized; to establishment of long-term cooperation and conclusion of contracts; to use of all the country's economic potential--especially in developing and producing raw materials and intermediate products to be used in the production of armament and military equipment; to planned and organized representation on the market, to obtaining better information about price trends, to choosing the best bidders so as to tend to reduce prices and stabilize the market, to timeliness in submitting requisitions and concluding contracts for purchases, and so on.

12. Adoption of a preliminary plan is essential to better economy in construction of permanent assets. Energies are wasted and results are diminished because plans are fragmented and broken down into a large number of small undertakings. Planning must be related to the modernization and urbanization of existing military complexes and to those overall tasks which deal with garrison, intergarrison or even broader problems. Spatial planning and urbanization of military complexes must be given a priority place in plans. Achievement of maximum economy in construction necessitates a determined orientation toward the use of standard designs as well as collapsible structures whenever possible.

Sizable savings are possible by carrying out construction projects with the available resources rather than letting bids, and these projects should be incorporated into planned assignments and carried out on the basis of the prescribed designs.

13. Good results have been achieved in housing construction, but there are still opportunities for more economical acquisition of housing units if organization is approved, if programs are worked out in more detail, if the letting of contracts is competently organized, if technical and financial inspections are more effective when new and modernized housing units are accepted and if a great number of other organizational and other steps are taken to ensure better care and maintenance of present housing. Emphasis should be put on extension of credit for private housing construction, on building housing units so designed that a single unit can meet several housing needs, on the construction of dormitories, etc.

14. Important results have been achieved in providing medical support to servicemen. At the same time the cost of health care is rising steadily (especially the consumption of medication, costs in civilian medical institutions, etc.), while the rate of income in the operation of military medical institutions is declining. We need to study the reasons why some military insurees choose civilian health care and the justifiability of such a choice and analyze and monitor the following: consumption of medicine, the organization of work, the referral for examinations and treatment in medical institutions requiring travel, the average length of treatment in medical institutions and steps to shorten it, the utilization of capacity, preventive medical measures, the volume of services provided to civilian insurees, the reasons for medical discharges of servicemen, the organization and system of recruitment, etc.

15. The centralized motor pool has recorded notable success and saved on the number of motor vehicles, kilometers traveled, fuel consumption, the number of officers and commands involved in organizing and rendering transportation services, etc. But the use of motor vehicles is still decentralized to a considerable extent in practice. We need to continue in the direction of consistent pooling of transport at all levels (internal, garrison, intergarrison--regional, army and interarmy). We need to take advantage of the potential represented by the possibility of using our

own vehicles to transport those things bought every day on the market. Satisfactory results have still not been achieved in the operation of vehicles. We must fight for consistent enforcement of regulations and enhanced responsibility of all commands for the condition of noncombat motor vehicles. This is particularly true concerning regular maintenance and servicing (daily and weekly inspections). Specific steps should be taken to reduce the number of traffic accidents in which servicemen are involved as well as those in which officers are involved with their own motor vehicles.

16. It is important that the quartermaster service be unified in all its activities, an effort which so far has yielded notable results. This is particularly important in the preparation of food, the baking of bread and general repairs of equipment. But there are possibilities which have not been utilized.

In the further improvement of efficiency and effectiveness in the quartermaster service greater attention should be paid to the following: the drafting of programs of measures and actions so as to make the heating system as efficient and effective as possible; to water supply (piping of our own sources of industrial water, adoption of plumbing equipment to ensure more economical water consumption, reconstruction of the water supply network and better maintenance of plumbing installations), and to more rational consumption of electric power.

Appropriate effort should be made toward further integration of service activities (laundry, dry cleaning, clothing repair, shoe repair, equipment repair, ironing, hairdressing, cabinetmaking, etc.); to set up service centers, to improve the organization of work in them, and to create better physical and financial conditions for them to operate more effectively; economical use of clothing and footwear.

17. Though quite a bit of attention is paid to control, to the analysis and monitoring of economic efficiency, present practice is not satisfactory. Internal control and analysis of fulfillment of planned assignments and financing are not what they should be. Sufficiently effective measures are not being taken to collect various accounts receivable, to institute proceedings in connection with illegalities that have been discovered in business operation, to deal with losses, damage and premature retirement of equipment, nor are regular inventories being taken. Particular attention should be paid to organizing and enforcing internal control, to improvement and development of appropriate methods, to comprehensive analysis, to the taking of more effective measures, to mobilization of the service community generally in correcting shortcomings that have been found in the handling of funds, and so on.

There is also a need for greater vertical control and aid. A closer watch should be kept on how tasks are performed, a judgment should be made as to whether problems are caused by subjective or objective reasons, and they should be corrected in either case.

The information system has not been built up to a sufficient degree, and to a large extent this makes it impossible to perform competent analyses and to use data for the higher levels of command. In the time to come we should pay particular attention to examining the number and complexity of individual reports, to simplifying and eliminating cases of duplication, to ascertainment of the necessary types and amount of data for each level of command, to the way in which data are analyzed and used in evaluating the situation in units, to the way individual decisions are made and the necessary steps taken, to providing material and equipment for the information system and to its rational organization.

18. We should go even further in decentralizing rights and responsibilities and in developing the initiative of all participants. The human factor should be at the center of all our capabilities. Broader rights signify more initiative and greater responsibility, and proper use should be made of this.

Particular attention should be paid to passing on know-how. Service newspapers and journals should be more involved in this than they have been; they should write not only about the constructive experience, but also about the bad experiences.

All measures and efforts aimed at improving economic efficiency and effectiveness should not be taken as a demand for thrift at all costs in a rigid sense. The funds which are assigned to units and institutions should be entirely spent in carrying out the tasks which have been set. There is not a single unit of which it can be said that it is receiving a surplus of funds so that funds could be left over. We should be constant and persistent in taking all steps to ensure that funds are spent as economically and effectively as possible for those tasks which have priority, so that the maximum results in terms of preparedness for combat are achieved with the available funds. Consequently, the only criterion should be rationality in the handling of funds and not the size of the surplus left at the end of the year.

7045
CSO: 2800

CONFERENCE ON MILITARY SPENDING RECAPITULATED

Belgrade VOJNI GLASNIK in Serbo-Croatian No 5, Sep-Oct 76 pp 63-68

[Article by Lt Col Stojan Vitanovic, economist: "Effective and Economical Use of YPA Funds"]

[Text] Our self-managed society is making considerable efforts to furnish funds for the modernization and regular activities and work of its armed forces. However, society's capabilities are limited, while the demands and needs that come under the head of modernization of the armed forces are increasing, making it necessary to find ways of performing the planned tasks and meeting planned needs with the available funds and of attaining the planned level of combat preparedness of the YPA and of the armed forces as a whole.

The development of plans, engineering and technology in the world has been accompanied by a very rapid development of weapons and combat materiel, armed forces have been strengthened, new means of waging war have been adopted, and all of this requires a great deal of money. Our YPA [Yugoslav People's Army], in view of the role which it has and the tasks which society has given it, must achieve a degree of combat readiness so that it is a reliable defender of the construction of a self-managed socialist society against any possible aggressor.

For that reason the need for funds for the development and regular activities and work of the YPA are growing rapidly every year. These needs are all the greater because we are constantly introducing into the YPA new equipment and gear whose use and maintenance necessitate larger and larger expenses, as does also the paying of personnel to use it; another reason is that the personal standard of living and level of community services of servicemen is rising in keeping with the rising standard of living in the country.

The amount of military construction and the YPA's level of equipment and training do not depend solely on the amount of funds allocated to it from the national income, but above all on the way those funds are used, the uses to which they are put, the extent to which they are used rationally

and effectively, the way the funds are handled, and the results that are achieved. This means that the maximum level of combat readiness must be achieved with the available funds. Two essential requirements must therefore be brought into line with one another: the combat readiness of the YPA on the one hand and effectiveness and efficiency in the use of funds on the other.

In view of this topic's extreme importance and the broad opportunities that exist for finding the most rational solutions, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense organized a conference on the following topic: "Effectiveness and Economic Efficiency in the Use of Funds and Upcoming Tasks."

No one at the practical level any longer believed, it was said in the discussion, that effective and economical expenditure comes down to the problems of being thrifty, which primarily meant thrift in rear support services concerned with material supply and in lower units where physical items are actually consumed and money is actually spent. On the contrary, effective and economical disposition of funds is basically a question of efficient organization of work, of methods used in command and decision-making, of adoption of optimum and timely decisions at all levels, of proper choices in assigning priority to tasks and needs, of applying scientific principles in dealing with the vital questions that arise in performing tasks, of training the necessary specialists, of mobilizing everyone involved to the maximum, and of developing an awareness that a responsible attitude must be shown toward tasks and funds so that the maximum result in terms of the combat readiness of the YPA can be achieved with the available funds. This leads to the conclusion that this is no longer a separate task confined to any particular sector, nor can it be done by individuals here and there, but is the task of all those agencies, units, institutions and participants who make decisions and carry out decisions.

The principle of effective and economical use of funds must always be incorporated into systems of operation and procedures, into every activity, into the direction, decisionmaking and reporting of every command, every officer and every serviceman. We are concerned here not just with the question of whether the planned tasks have been performed, but also with the question of whether they have been performed in the most efficient and economical way.

Arrangements Embodied in the System

A great number of important aspects of the economical and efficient use of funds have been dealt with in regulations. Lower commands have been given greater rights in the handling of funds and in deciding which priority tasks they are to be applied to. Savings and income earned in the phase of carrying out tasks are relinquished to the unit which achieved the saving or the income in order to perform exceptional tasks which were

not planned and to raise the personal standard of living and level of community services.

The work done by those who share in carrying out the tasks depend greatly on the arrangements incorporated into the system. The essential thing is that they provide incentives and motivate every individual to achieve maximum efficiency and economy in the use of funds without detracting from or violating the principles that govern the functioning of the military organization. The principal arrangements incorporated into the system were adopted with enactment of the Law on the Assets and Financing of the YPA and other sublegal regulations. Significant results have been achieved in practice thanks to the enforcement of these regulations, but certain shortcomings have also been noted, and they must be corrected by constant innovation and practical know-how if they are not to have an adverse effect on effectiveness in achieving the goals and performing the tasks which have been set.

At the practical level there are still cases of a certain lack of confidence in the decentralization that has now been accomplished in the handling of funds, and there is a desire to concentrate those funds once again in certain agencies of the central planning level.

Certain lower levels, taking advantage of their greater rights in the handling of funds, make unplanned expenditures from time to time even on those purposes which do not have direct importance to combat readiness (luxurious furniture, carpets, armchairs, draperies, etc.). Articles which can still be used (clothing, footwear, furniture, and so on) are also scrapped ahead of time so that new and more up-to-date articles may be purchased.

There are also people who expect that all matters related to efficient and economical handling of funds should be governed by central regulations. However, not only is this unfeasible, but those regulations would be very cumbersome and still would not be able to foresee and cover all the possibilities which exist. The regulations which we have mentioned provide a rather broad framework, but they also afford a possibility for every individual, unit and command to examine specific conditions and devise his or its own methods and ways of performing the planned tasks with the available means.

All decisionmaking entities in the YPA must endeavor to correct the shortcomings that have been found, since some of them are not only hampering initiative, but may paralyze certain activities to a certain extent. That is why all arrangements should be painstakingly and thoroughly prepared and should be adjusted to optimum needs and objective capabilities. Officers in higher commands and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense bear a particularly great responsibility in this regard.

The System of Command and the Organization of Work

Since the YPA is a large and complex organization and since its operation is based on the principle of subordination, its management system must have a certain flexibility. The command system must not therefore hold back initiative, but before a decision is made request proposals from lower commands and officers concerning possible versions of the most expedient solutions to the problem. However, in procedures and management methods used in the past sufficient use was not always made of specialized agencies and individuals.

On the other hand, a certain number of specialists are working on matters which are secondary and less important. After a certain number of years these specialists do not keep up with the developments of science, nor do they yield adequate results in their work. That is why an effort should be made for every man to be put in the right place and for him to be completely engaged on jobs within his field, and then he should be expected to produce results in line with his abilities. Scientific management has a large role in this regard. Ineffective organization of work always requires higher expenditures and more time to carry out assignments.

Ongoing reassessment and improvement of management systems, methods and procedures and of the organization of work, the shaping of the organizational structure and of military formations, and critical assessment of the results achieved in performance of planned tasks should be a constant concern in the system of direction and command.

Planning Tasks To Be Performed and Fulfillment of the Plans

The greater rights enjoyed by lower units and commands in assigning priority to tasks, in planning them, and in committing the necessary funds put the responsible officers of those lower units and commands in a new position. That is, they not only have greater authority, but they also bear greater responsibility for efficient and economical handling of funds and for the results achieved in fulfilling plans. It is important in this regard that financial plans be integrated with work schedules; that is, a unified plan must be compiled to combine them.

In the planning process operational planning and its linkage to financial plans should be particular importance. By operational planning we mean the work of compiling all plans which define tasks in detail regardless of whether those tasks are assigned by the superior command or follow from the elementary needs of the unit in question.

The making of decisions, especially those which commit sizable funds and materiel, requires a complicated and extensive preliminary procedure. A mass of data and indices must be assembled, certain analyses have to be performed, performance of tasks must be scheduled, the optimum variants must be chosen, and only then is the decision made. This makes it a

necessity for there to be a linkage between operational plans and the plans which match tasks with funding.

There are always initial difficulties whenever an innovation of any kind is introduced. Those difficulties may be objective in nature if the new system has not been properly formulated when it was introduced. Subjective difficulties occur because people have become accustomed to one method, and it is hard for them to get away from it. That is why every step must be taken and exceptional efforts made to implement the principle of the new method of planning, which is that plans should be part of the process of management and decisionmaking and should become an instrument for achieving more economical and efficient disposition of funds. This is to be done by assigning priority to those tasks which tend to contribute the most to improvement of the combat capability of units and of the YPA as a whole.

Plans must be all-inclusive and clear. All those who will carry them out (especially lower units and commands) should participate in compiling them; they should be based on objective prior analyses, and finally, no tasks should be included in the plan which are not covered by the necessary financial funds. This is the way to minimize inessential tasks.

Training and Education

Participants in the conference stressed training and education both as an important and essential factor in bolstering combat readiness and also as activities absorbing considerable materiel and funds. Expenditures for training depend largely on how training is organized and conducted. The results of training may vary widely though the same money is spent.

This means that substantial savings are possible if training is conducted in a planned manner and with optimum materiel and funds. But there may also be harmful consequences if an effort is made to economize at the expense of the quality of training, if individual phases or parts of training are omitted, if training is conducted under unsuitable conditions, if the number of weapons is reduced, if less ammunition is consumed, or if consumption of other materiel falls below what is actually necessary and called for in official standards.

Training and education, which comprise a primary task of units, exert, then, a considerable influence on the efficiency and economy with which funds are spent, since if training and education are properly oriented, every soldier and officer will learn how to achieve the maximum results with the least strain and the smallest consumption of materiel and funds. Correct use of weapons and equipment, for example, reduces damage, accidents, premature breakdowns, and so on. That in turn has a favorable economic result. Basically this should indeed be the true content of training and education, since it instills a responsible attitude toward training and toward funds and materiel in general.

From the standpoint of combat readiness and also from the standpoint of the economic factor, it is indispensable for close attention to be paid to the training of draftees, since training, supplemental training and supplemental schooling are very expensive after required military service has been done.

In the immediate future training and education should be planned on a still more up-to-date basis and should be organized in a more organized way, facilities should be used more intensely and efficiently, funds should be spent more effectively, and weapons, teaching aids and other material should be properly stored, maintained and used. Training and education should constantly develop and nurture a feeling of socialist patriotism and love toward the public property which has been made available to the YPA for its use.

The Role of the Military Unit in the Handling of Materiel and Funds

In view of the character and nature of the YPA's organization, every individual in it has a particular place and role. Maximum results are expected of every individual and of every military unit in the performance of tasks. After all, everything done in the YPA, everything that is achieved in training and education, in the storage, maintenance and use of equipment, and in the efficient and economical use of materiel and funds--all of that is the result of an effort made by every individual and every unit as a whole.

The devising of methods and procedures to achieve the necessary level of combat readiness with a minimum investment is the task of all entities, all levels of command, and every soldier and officer, and it is also and particularly part of the role and task of the organization of the League of Communists and the organization of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth League in the YPA, etc. The greatest responsibility falls on the commands of units and institutions and on every commanding officer, since they must show far better results than the rank-and-file. They are responsible for the orderly, objective, realistic and timely planning of tasks and for fulfillment of plans. They are responsible for the organization and conduct of training and education, for the activities and operation of their units, and for the proper safekeeping and maintenance of equipment.

Yet the serviceman is a basic factor, and he is the one who actually operates the weapon, equipment and other very expensive pieces of hardware. The success of each serviceman's unit depends basically on the kind of attitude he has toward the equipment he operates, toward training and education, and toward other servicemen and his commanding officer.

Committees made up of servicemen can make a notable contribution to efficient and economical use of materiel and funds, particularly in lower units. These committees have already been formed in some units, and they have yielded constructive results. These are bodies elected in meetings

of the entire unit, and the members are exemplary soldiers whose knowledge in training and education has been particularly noted and who have an inclination toward efficiency and economy. These committees are not part of the command, and commanders and commanding officers of units setting up such a committee may not be elected members of it. Its tasks are mainly to monitor the unit's entire work with regard to the way in which all equipment and gear are kept and maintained, internal order, discipline, personal and general hygiene, economy in the use of water, lights, heat, orderliness and cleanliness in messhalls, etc. The committees periodically pass on their observations to the commanding officer of the unit, so that he might order the necessary steps.

Every officer at his job and every soldier in his role must make maximum efforts to perform the numerous and very complex tasks while at the same time adhering to principles of efficiency and economy in the expenditure of time, human labor, materiel and funds.

Participants in the conference also stressed other relevant issues whose resolution requires definite efforts and considerable materiel and funds; because there were many of them, we will mention only what we feel to have been the most essential points.

The high level of combat readiness cannot be maintained exclusively by purchasing up-to-date materiel on a large scale, particularly when the funds for the YPA are limited and when they will be smaller every year. Consequently, if the military uses its materiel more efficiently, much can be accomplished in updating that equipment and gear which society is unable to provide at any given moment. That is why current maintenance of materiel is a most important element in the overall system of equipment maintenance and should be a constant concern and activity of all units and commands. In spite of the results that have been achieved, certain shortcomings have been found in the servicing of equipment. This leads to the conclusion that those actually using equipment are not always competent and effective in their inspections. Every oversight in the current maintenance of equipment later causes major breakdowns and damage, which means sizable expenditures for repair, and this directly affects efficiency and economy and, most important, it diminishes the unit's combat readiness.

Considerable funds are committed to construction. Before projects are undertaken, therefore, a comprehensive and thorough analysis should be conducted into the purpose of the construction. There must also be competence in the design, in preparation of the overall project plans, in the choice of the construction site, and so on. Efforts should be made to bring into line all the essential components of harmonious, rational, objective and realistic planning of the construction of projects for the needs of the YPA.

Work done by the direct-labor method, projects being carried out by servicemen, construction crews of commands, and others, is used mainly on minor projects. Good results are achieved, but every time such a project is undertaken consideration should be given to diverting personnel from training only in exceptional cases, and even then their absence shall not diminish their level of training and the level of combat readiness of units.

Still more can be done to unify rear-support services without fearing that this system will turn into its opposite and become cumbersome and disfunctional and hamper the initiative of operational units and commands.

The transportation service, in order to achieve maximum results in efficient utilization of motor vehicles and to meet the transportation needs of units, has also recorded distinguished results. However, materiel could be handled still more effectively in transportation under peacetime conditions.

Better organization of the movement of material within and between garrisons has yielded enormous savings in the operation of motor vehicles, and the efficiency of the supply of vehicles to units and institutions has improved.

The following conclusions pertaining to work in the coming period can be drawn from the positions which were dominant at the conference and also from the material prepared for the conference, the numerous discussions, and the opening and closing addresses.

There is an indispensable need to constantly scrutinize, critically reassess and improve the management system and methodology and the organization of work, to constantly devise more rational and efficient organizational and military structures for units and commands, to monitor and evaluate results, to enhance personal responsibility for irrational and uneconomical expenditure of funds when decisions are made and consumption of materiel when tasks are carried out.

The planning of tasks must be tied together into an integrated system, and at all levels there must be a match between the planned tasks and the planned financing. Planning must cover all activities, and priorities must be assessed realistically so that the tasks which are planned can be performed with the available means.

The process of unifying rear functions needs to be stepped up; particular consideration must be given to ensuring a rapid and smooth transition to wartime conditions.

Use should be made of servicemen who are specialists whenever they can make a contribution to solving problems. Care must be taken that this not be detrimental to the conduct of training and education.

A manifold advantage is derived from doing jobs with internal resources rather than hiring contractors. Many tasks are performed in the most economical way, organization is better, and personnel receives training for wartime conditions, when this type of work will in most cases be the only one possible.

In the coming period particular attention should be paid to providing appropriate economic training of personnel. All our officers must be familiar with the basic principles of efficiency and economy in the handling of funds. This problem area must be represented in the curricula of all our schools and courses. The question of efficiency and economy in the performance of tasks must be represented in some way in all conferences and in all other forms of discussion of particular problems and tasks.

It is particularly important that new efforts be made to simplify business and administrative procedures to the maximum, since valuable time is lost and considerable money is spent on needless paperwork.

The conference, then, analyzed problems which have to do with the handling of funds and made numerous suggestions and recommendations as to how business operations can be improved still more at every location and at every level if the disposition of funds is as efficient and economical as possible and if the primary aim is to achieve the highest level of combat readiness of all units and institutions of the YPA.

All entities, units and institutions--from the lowest commands to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense--confront a crucial task and strenuous work to implement the positions, proposals, recommendations and conclusions of the conference and make them everyday practice in the coming period.

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YUGOSLAVIA

PROGRESSIVE TRENDS IN CHURCH NOTED IN EASTERN EUROPE

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 76 p 7

[Article by Sime Pierotti: "The Senselessness of the Legendary Ostrich's Tactics"]

[Text] Trends and Events Within Yugoslav and World Church Organizations

This article, which is about what is happening in the churches of western and eastern Europe and outside Europe fits nicely under topic five in the program for ideological and political advancement of local organizations of the League of Communists of Croatia, which is entitled "The Marxist View of Religion and LCY Policy Toward the Church and Religion."

Topic five is becoming increasingly relevant for party members because church communities are becoming political and attempting to exert a stronger opposition. The Catholic hierarchy is foremost in this, interjecting itself as a spokesman and intermediary between those who are religious and the public community.

Clericalism is the traditional form of nationalism by which it has been attempting to resolve its own crises and the crises of the reactionary forces, which have been driven into a mousehole.

The church in the world is experiencing certain events which must be taken into account if one is to understand its position and the climate in which it lives. This is a time when conservative political parties relying on big capital, the church, powerful rentier strata, perhaps old structures in agriculture or medium-sized industry, or some combination, are tipping the balance in the advanced, rich and relatively consolidated societies of Western Europe. All those parties are either unable to resolve the major economic, social and political problems which the development of contemporary productive forces and relations are raising in those countries, or they turn a deaf ear.

Nevertheless, the Christian-Democratic parties in those countries, usually representing precisely those conservative political circles, are not

losing the battle, as one can see at the moment in West Germany, or they are constantly wrestling with the communists and socialists, as is the case in Italy and certain other countries in the Mediterranean (Spain, Portugal, and so on).

But in Italy, for instance, even though the Italian church and the Vatican itself are steadfastly supporting the Democratic Party, a relationship which is mutual, in the last election this party still was unable to seize any particular advantage over the Communist Party of Italy, which is becoming the strongest opposition party in the country. The Christian-Democratic Party has had a somewhat greater success in West Germany. There and in Sweden it is particularly obvious that the ruling Social-Democratic parties are losing influence and prestige to the conservative and explicitly antisocialist parties.

Although before the election Italy's leading Catholic newspapers were saying that Catholics should not vote for the Communist Party of Italy, even though the Vatican newspaper L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO unashamedly called upon its readers every day to realize that on 20 June Italians would be choosing between "freedom" and "slavery" (it being understood that "freedom" was the symbol of the Democratic Party, while "slavery" was the symbol of the Communist Party), this still didn't help. The only thing that came through was that broad strata of the Italian public saw that a substantial portion of the top-level church hierarchy wanted to support the Italian Christian-Democrats against the Communist Party at all costs.

Carving Up the Legacy

So, early this May the Paris newspaper LE MONDE frankly asked this question in one of its editorials: "What is the Vatican's attitude toward the well-known position taken by the Italian communists popularly referred to as the 'historic compromise'?" This was the newspaper's response to a lecture delivered at that time in Vienna by Archbishop Giovanni Benelli, who bears more responsibility for foreign affairs than anyone else in the Vatican. LE MONDE made an outright accusation that in that lecture Benelli was waging the main ideological battle not in abstract terms against Marxism, but in concrete terms against the communist parties of western Europe, that he had charged the Marxists with being incapable of any compromise, much less an historic compromise, that he had stressed and overplayed the impossibility of dialog and compromise only and exclusively with the communists, hoping thereby to split the leftwing forces: the socialists and progressive Christian-Democrats from the communists, and in opposition to the "historical compromise" of the Italian communists to advance the "church's social doctrine," which, as LE MONDE puts it, "is completely anachronistic and outdated, so as then to draw the Christian-Democrats in Europe into a large conservative political bloc, which means that the church hierarchy is meddling in the current political situation of the country even though it wants to create the impression that it is standing aloof from politics in the various nations."

The large Milan newspaper CORRIERE DE LA SERA responded at the time: "It is not pleasant to see the way we are going back to the days of Pope Pius XII."

It is no wonder, then, that this entire situation seemed to a French archbishop just the right moment for him to strike a blow against the policy of the Second Vatican Council. Actually this was a scandalous outbreak of the traditionalist church of the Tridentine type; this archbishop began to create a schismatic church in that he turned a deaf ear to all requests by Paul VI that he cease his activity against church unity. He hoped by his behavior to encourage the most conservative tendencies in the church in their fight against the reform adopted by the council, saying that the Second Vatican Council had conducted its proceedings under the French Revolution's motto of freedom, brotherhood and equality. This, of course, was not the only point of opposition, but on his own, without any sort of consent from his hierarchy, he ordained a number of priests and deacons contrary to regulations, which brought him into a conflict over practical matters with the Catholic church, whereupon he said that the church following the Second Vatican Council actually had nothing in common with the true Catholic church, and he let everyone know that the conflicts in the church could no longer be kept under control by the hierarchy and that a breakthrough by the reactionary resistance signaled the beginning of carving up the legacy of Pope John XXIII.

What Is One To Believe In?

In this context the well-known French magazine PARIS MATCH made some very interesting observations in one of its recent issues. "In France," the magazine writes, "there are two types of Catholics: new and old. The new ones, the children of the Second Vatican Council, who are frequently militants in political parties, are mainly on the left. They are the avant-garde of the church, full of confidence in its development, even when they have ceased to give their religion the importance which they once gave it. The old ones are those who never accepted the Second Vatican Council either because they were attached to the old liturgy or because they no longer knew what to believe in. For generations the religious practice of these inhabitants of farming areas have been an integral part of their world. In politics they are closest to the right...." The magazine then goes on to ask whether the church can have a future? It immediately responds: "It is certain, and Archbishop Lefebvre's jeremiads are aimed in precisely that direction, that de-Christianization is gaining more and more headway in the church and that the old Christian structures are constantly breaking down more and more. It is no wonder," PARIS MATCH continues, "that a respected French theologian, member of the Vatican Secretariat for Unbelievers, did not hesitate to predict that 'in the year 2000 there will be very few Christians in France, at best 10 percent, and at worst 1 percent. Our children,' the theologian continued, 'are leaving the faith just as one abandons an old suit which can no longer be used,' and he adds that 'in the past faith was passed on from parents to

children, but that is no longer the case now. This phenomenon is relevant now for the first time in the history of the church in France.'"

While this tortuous process is taking place in western Europe, while the forces representing the Second Vatican Council carry on a tough fight for survival, in eastern Europe we encounter some new facts in the church's development which are related to this.

Hungary

Whereas on the one hand NEPSZABADSAG, the organ of the Communist Party of Hungary, records a satisfactory level of relations between church and state in Hungary, emphasizing that since 1945 they have never been as good as they are today, and another Budapest newspaper tells us that figures not yet final indicate that hundreds of high church officials have become members of committees of the People's Front at various levels, in the very congress of the Patriotic People's Front of Hungary, which recently adjourned in Budapest, the new head of the church in Hungary, Cardinal Lekai, delivered an address in which he emphasized the harmonious development of relations between church and state, that is, between the government and the Vatican: "It is in the interest of the Hungarian church and state," the cardinal literally said, "for good relations to develop in the future. Believers can rest at ease. They can freely follow their religious convictions and not feel in jeopardy. The believers, led by their church officials, can join together with those who do not believe in responsible activity to build up the homeland. It is self-evident that believers respect the world outlook of their Marxist fellow citizens. The church is in any case ready to carry on a dialog," Cardinal Lekai, head of the Hungarian church, concluded his address.

Poland

We must also mention here some new developments in Poland. A significant announcement was made following the plenary assembly of the Bishops' Conference recently held in Czestochowa. The communique said: "In view of the present difficult economic situation in the country, the conference has taken the position that every citizen must contribute to improvement of that situation.... Confidence in the government is a prerequisite to honest work and sacrifice. The government deserves that confidence, since it is sincerely concerned about the good of all the citizens. The difficulties our country faces can be overcome only through joint efforts." This position adopted by the Conference of Polish Bishops, which was presided over by Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski himself, is viewed not only as a response to Edward Gierek, first secretary of the Central Committee of the United Workers Party, who early this month stated in a speech to the workers of Mielec that there is no conflict between state and church in Poland, but this position is an attempt to prove how capable the church also is of overcoming other disagreements when the situation requires "patriotic unity" of the Polish people.

It is increasingly clear that religious conviction cannot be in essential conflict with socialism and at loggerheads with science and general progress. When this is understood, there is no conflict with society nor any particular problems.

As we see, in spite of the terrific pressures being exerted on what is called "The Council" and the council's martyrdom, it still is not possible to turn back the clock of history.

Paul VI

This mood prevails not only among representatives of the Catholic church, but is also dominant in the well-known World Council of Churches, whose members include almost all the major religious communities in the world. That council's central committee recently met in Geneva, immediately following its 1975 world meeting in Nairobi. Aside from a number of theological problems, this committee also debated matters which appear to us altogether secular. For instance: certain adverse aspects of the activity of multinational companies, militarism and disarmament, the problem of a more just division of our planet's resources, the growing misery of refugees, the use of a special fund to fight racism, and so on. The resolution adopted concerning Lebanon demonstrates that it is not easy to intervene effectively in this area, but that it is still more difficult to maintain silence concerning it. In connection with South Africa, the World Council of Churches decided to commit its individual members to be spokesmen before their own governments as defenders of oppressed peoples so as to prevent an increase in the power of those who are exclusively preserving their own privileges and for that reason are committing further injustices.

The pope in Rome himself, Paul VI, in spite of the pressures exerted on him from many quarters, is increasingly ready to think about these large world problems and to orient the practical activity of the Catholic church in that direction. Significance is therefore to be found in what he recently said to the new French ambassador when he presented his credentials as ambassador to the Vatican:

"We are greatly interested in anything that contributes to the progress of the human spirit, in respect for life and human dignity in all forms, for preservation and attainment of material prosperity combined with effective compassion for those who are most in need and impoverished, in resolving sources of conflict, particularly where they are most dangerously entangled and tense, in opening up prospects for an arms ban as soon as possible, in encouragement for the efforts of the young nations to promote mutual aid so that they can get on their own feet through their own efforts, and in promoting mutual understanding, detente, true peace and everything which enhances the honor and respect of a country and at the same time stimulates and encourages the church."

In this connection we must mention here the fact that on the 13th anniversary of his election as pope Paul VI, in a conversation with the College of Cardinals, offered governments which he called Marxist an opportunity to talk with the Catholic church. The purpose would be collaboration in solving the major problems of humanity, precisely those we have just been talking about, and also to achieve progress in relations between church and state in those countries.

Favorable Trends

All of these trends are, of course, having a definite effect on church structures in Yugoslavia as well. We have seen certain favorable trends in this direction. Let us first note what GLAS KONCILA wrote in an editorial (No 13, 27 June 1976):

"Cabinet-level thinkers and politicians," this newspaper wrote, "of the bourgeois-liberal type would like to believe that Marxism is just a movement in philosophy, like many others which have appeared and faded out. There are also believers who defend their security in the faith with the tactics of the legendary ostrich, saying that the world is already recovering from that ignis fatuus and that there soon will be a great counter-offensive, which certainly will receive occasional help in the form of commentary and predictions from the great powers of this world.

"But at the same time multitudes of little people in Europe are giving more and more of their political votes to the Marxist parties. This strangely seems to be much more the case in countries whose adherence to Catholic values goes back to ancient times.... It [Marxism] is winning over minds, and multitudes of people are swearing allegiance to it ... in Europe, Asia, Africa and South America. People like Cardinal Koenig are well aware that this is the first fact to be taken into account, that without honoring and giving full weight to this fact, any scholarly exposure of Marxism is doomed to failure. The average man in Europe ... wholeheartedly accepts Marxism because he sees it as an ally in the struggle against unacceptable social injustices and in changing the world ... and they have accepted it because it has won their respect by offering them specific help and absolute hope.... In his speech in Lucerne Cardinal Koenig also said that Marxism in the west "has experienced an amazing and unexpected rebirth," and so on.

This editorial is certainly significant in that it indicates that something is also moving forward even in this Yugoslav journal. New offers to open up a dialog are coming one after the other. For instance, our old friend and servant advocate of dialog Tomo Veres speaks in the journal ZIVOT (No 3, 1976) about how difficult it is to carry on that dialog. He is right, for instance, when he says that it is far more important what our Yugoslav Marxists say about dialog than what is said about it by well-known communists abroad: Professor Lombardo Radice, Roger Garaudy, Ernst Bloch and others. Veres is not far from the truth when he says

this, since he himself wonders whether they have said anything that is relevant to our own domestic situation. "After all," he wonders, "what can they know about the true role of the League of Communists in our society, about self-management as a method in everyday life, about the problems of brotherhood and unity, about the internal and external situations and difficulties of Christians and other believers in our country? And if they know little about all of that, then there cannot be any true dialog with them, a dialog that is rooted in our situation."

If the remaining church hierarchy in Yugoslavia shares at least to some extent the opinion of the editorial writer of GLAS KONCILA, and there are probably those who do share it, since it is after all their publication, then writing like that still means for us a different approach to our domestic realities and the one that has been customary up to now, and we can easily suppose that as the new and younger generations of believers and priests come along, conditions will be created for church organizations in Yugoslavia to really behave differently in deed as well as in what they say.

A New Way of Going About Things

In this connection we must mention here the group of Catholic-oriented thinkers and theologians grouped around the Slovenian review ZNAMENJE in Ljubljana. In the last 2 or 3 years it has carried a particularly intense discussion on a topic which might be stated approximately like this: Has our community of religious believers confronted in a true avant-garde spirit the Marxist reality which has been dominant in our intellectual atmosphere for more than half a century now? (ZNAMENJE, No 2, 1975, p 170)

These are the responses of the younger and middle-aged generation of Slovenian Catholic intellectuals who in a more or less explicit way want to assess Marxism and the attitude of Catholic religious thought toward it. Though we cannot compress their point of departure in a sentence or two, if we single out the following idea of theirs, we think that we have stressed what is certainly the most important in their thinking.

"In the contemporary world, and especially in the socialist countries, new social relations are becoming established or have already become established which Catholics and the church must accept as something which is essentially constructive both for Christians and the church (regardless of certain unacceptable manifestations and tendencies), which is certainly both a challenge and an appeal for us to reflect once again about our faith and about its capabilities and prospects in a world that has changed so much. Marxism has been and still is one of the main forces in the transformation of the contemporary world. That is why we should strive for a conception which is in keeping with the present moment and reject outdated forms and the mistaken religious conceptions bound up with them!"

While the Slovenian Catholic intellectuals are examining the fine points of their ideological positions and differences from Marxism, their colleagues and other believers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, within their Association of Catholic Religious Officials, are defining in detail the practical tasks which they are taking upon themselves via that association. For instance, so that it might perform its tasks and pursue its purpose more easily and be more a part of overall social events, they feel that the association should attempt through its linkage with the Socialist Alliance to direct its activities toward humanistic undertakings and professional matters which are raised in the appropriate bodies of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to make an active contribution to their resolution.

Clearer Concepts

However, returning to what GLAS KONCILA wrote in the editorial in admitting Marxism's real value in the world and in evaluating it as it did and criticizing those who, as it says metaphorically, defend themselves with the "tactics of the legendary ostrich," we can surely draw the following conclusions:

If even in the opinion of a journal like that the time has already come for this ostrich-like tactic to be pronounced nonsensical, and if these are not mere words on paper, but truly an expression of a positive conviction, then we can say that those making church policy in Yugoslavia and also those who are formulating that policy in official and responsible editorial columns are realizing more and more that religious convictions cannot stand in essential opposition to socialism and dispute with science and general progress, nor can it stand in conflict with the moral and ethical principles in which contemporary man lives and arranges his social relations, nor can it be in conflict with a self-managed socialist society. Where this is understood--and it appears that this understanding is nevertheless increasing more and more on the part of the church--there is no conflict with society nor any particular problems with it. What is more, we have cases where certain priests, and even the top-level church organizations are becoming involved in a more and more constructive way in the general problems of society through various civic organizations, and they are actually trying to solve those problems together with those associations.

Of course, where that understanding is lacking, then clericalism arises, religion is abused for political ends, and in certain cases there is abuse of ethnic and religious feelings. Then the conflicts are inevitable.

This is the way to eliminate in practice the "tactics of the legendary ostrich" with respect to anything that is progressive in our society, and this at the same time is the best way of building up a democratic mechanism in the framework of our socialist society so that the church can

carry on its activities freely and also be free of the pressures of all kinds that the reactionary forces exert regardless of which quarter that pressure comes from.

7045

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YUGOSLAVIA

MORE DEMOCRATIC RELATIONS URGED IN LCY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 76 p 2

[Article by Slobodan Vujica]

[Text] There Is No Direct Democracy Nor Socialist Self-Management Without Democratic Relations and Critical Debate in the League of Communists

It is indispensable to strengthen and to develop further democratic relations and critical debate in the League of Communists as a method of strengthening its revolutionary unity, unanimity on program, and unity in action. After all, unity in the League of Communists is not built, nor can it be built, by imposing discipline, issuing commands or demanding absolute uniformity, but by heightening the awareness of goals, obligations and responsibilities and standards governing behavior, and that can only be done when relations are democratic.

This warning has been expressed in debates on the topic of how to strengthen the League of Communists as a factor in the development of self-management and how to equip it better for operating with democratic methods in a democratic system.

Room for a Battle of Opinions

There are both long-range reasons and reasons of the moment for stressing the importance of developing a democratic atmosphere in the League of Communists and elsewhere for that matter. In practical terms the second phase of implementing the law on associated labor is coming up. That law, which has frequently been stressed in the public debates so far, establishes the methods, instruments and rules of behavior by means of which the workers and associated labor are to exercise control over income as a social category and over the processes of reproduction by concluding accords and compacts and by reconciling interests so as to overcome conflicts which still exist. But that law, which still has not been stressed enough, also and at the same time opens up broader opportunities for a creative battle of opinions, for participation of the broadest strata in the shaping of policy and decisions, in elections and in the selection of personnel, and for public criticism.

The very fact that the liberation of labor and man is the essence of our freedom and democracy imparts significance to the demand for further development of democratic relations in the League of Communists. After all, if we take as our point of departure the role of the League of Communists as the leading ideological and political force in building a socialist self-managed society, then it is clear that without democratic relations in the League of Communists there can be no development of direct democracy, nor the inevitable battle of opinions, nor authentic socialist self-management. If within the League of Communists policy positions are adopted undemocratically, under pressure, railroaded, without dialog and free expression of opinion (even opinions that represent errors), then the preconditions are created for undemocratic methods and manipulations to spread to the bodies of self-management and other institutions where direct decisionmaking is done.

The significant results achieved in developing democratic relations in the League of Communists in conformity with the principles of democratic centralism are beyond dispute. This has contributed in an important way to the strength of its unity and ability to act and to its ties with the broadest strata. But however much has been done, and even though the situation has changed for the better, the old relations still have not been dispensed with in local organizations, between the local organizations and committees and opstina and other leadership bodies. The democratic content of democratic centralism has somehow been suspended along the line. Some leadership bodies go too far in creating a bureaucratic and hierarchical relationship; they exaggerate their own role, and there is not enough critical debate and democratic communication with the rank-and-file.

No Room for Fractious Individuals

It is not a rare thing, for instance, for ready-made decisions and assessments to be delivered to local organizations and the rank-and-file as if they were directives which had to be carried out without objection. They are imposed as the "policy of the party," all debate is prohibited, and labels are irresponsibly attached to those who think differently and who are critically assessing certain events or decisions. The adverse consequences of such practice are well known. Links tend to be formed among individuals, small groups and leadership bodies, and these informal associations consist of individuals from the work organization and the sociopolitical community and leaders of political organizations, including the League of Communists. This is the basis for maintaining or strengthening the monopoly over decisionmaking, for attempts to hold on to positions and privileges, for usurpation of self-management and for its transformation into a facade. Frequently this is the reason why the rank-and-file of the League of Communists has become inactive and why the local organizations are thrust out of the center of the battle for the new democratic relations. Then we have the well-known situations in which the important thing in "debates" is not the argument, its strength and decisiveness, but debates are won on the basis of the position held by the speaker.

The last thing in the world which stressing the need to develop democratic relations and dialog can signify, of course, is opening up room for others who offer someone else's development strategies which are contrary to socialist self-management and democracy. Nor does the creation of a democratic atmosphere signify that now individuals can be fractious, while organizations are turned into debating societies in which the talk never ends and the action never begins. Nor does the nurturing of a democratic atmosphere signify the green light for those who only see the dark side, cavillers and grumblers of all kinds. After all, the purpose of a contest of opinions is the progress of socialism and establishment of the workingman's leading position in the system of socialist democracy--the development of civilized relations among people.

In pointing up the indispensable need for the development of democratic relations, critical debate, and the role of the rank-and-file and local organization in shaping policy and making decisions, we certainly do not mean to question the obligation to implement decisions once adopted. On the contrary, this is what makes the rank-and-file and local organizations responsible for implementing resolutions and decisions, since they themselves have participated in their adoption. After all, development of democratic relations and dialog tends to deepen and clarify the policy of the League of Communists and to strengthen thereby the consciousness of the members, which can only enhance their commitment and responsibility for consistent implementation of the resolutions and decisions that have been adopted. In the development of democratic relations the commitment of the rank-and-file is based on their own convictions and not an imposed discipline and orders handed down.

Least of all does stressing the role of the rank-and-file and local organizations detract from the importance of the leadership and its activity. As a matter of fact, it presupposes that they are even more involved at all levels. But the activity of leadership bodies must derive from the greater involvement of the local organization and the rank-and-file, must proceed from their initiative, and must guarantee broader linkage between the rank-and-file of the League of Communists and the working people and their mobilization in the fight for the new relations.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CRITICISM OF 'DOGMATIC POSITIVISM' IN WORK BY SOVIET THEORETICIAN V. MAZUR

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 76 pp 18-19

[Article by Dr Zarko Papic: "The Powerlessness of Dogmatism: Overcoming the Contradictions Between the Market and the Plan"]

[Text] A book entitled "Ideologija Saveza komunista i udruzeni rad" [The Ideology of the League of Communists and Associated Labor], which soon will be published in the "Theory and Practice" series (Komunist Publishing House for the Socialist Republic of Serbia), contains a rather long essay by Dr Zarko Papic entitled "Pooling of Labor and Assets as a Way of Overcoming the Contradictions Between the Market and the Plan," in which he discusses the problem of the relationship between the market and the plan as one of the most relevant topics being dealt with by the economic sciences in the present-day world. Relying on the doctrine of the pioneers of scientific socialism and taking as his points of departure the theoretical propositions and practice in a socialist self-managed society, the author sets his view in opposition to the well-known "speculative and positivistic approaches" to this problem that have come from bourgeois economic science and dogmatic "Marxism." We are presenting a sizable portion of that essay, one which mostly concerns the views of V. Mazur expressed in a book entitled "Economic Revisionism. A Criticism of the Revisionist Vulgarization of the Political Economy of Socialism" (Kiev, 1976). The editors have supplied the title and headings in the excerpts presented below and have omitted the footnotes.

Under the concrete and specific historical conditions in which socialism has been undergoing its very early development as a practice, there has been a tendency for the system of state enterprise, in which dominant importance is given to the economic role of the state and central planning, to pass from a transitional form to the normal and regular situation.

As it inevitably reproduces its own preconditions--above all centralistic state administration and planning of the economy--and the material foundation of those preconditions--state ownership, the tendency for that system to develop has inevitably been engendering a contradiction between statist social relations and the continuity of the socialist revolution, the "real" liberation of labor and of the working class, of the "real movement" toward Marx' organization of society as an "association of free producers."

The Purport and Nature of Dogmatic Positivism

Dogmatic positivism, which takes great pains to represent itself as the only correct and orthodox Marxism, has come forth as a theoretical and ideological outlook to defend the real relations and foundations of statism.

Positivism is unquestionably its principal characteristic, and academic scholasticism is its only style. Given those attributes as its character, it is constantly renewing its uncritical attitude toward the real practice of socialism, always showing itself to be static, unhistorical, undialectical and un-Marxist. Marx and Lenin all but anticipated in critical terms the "real" character it has taken today.

In economic theory the dogmatic positivism of "Marxist" self-advertising carried out one of the first and most aggressive revisions of Marxism, one of the central areas to be crossed by that march against the classics of Marxism was the problem of the relationship between the market and the plan.

Two main banners, fundamental from the standpoint of theory, were flown high during that march:

1) Socialism is incompatible with commodity production. The scheme for defending that position is very simple: a commodity economy or market economy can only be a capitalist economy, since socialism is not capitalism, and there cannot be a commodity economy or market economy under socialism. Misuse of several quotations from the classics of Marxism was all there was by way of supporting arguments. This misuse was manifested in two methodological "errors."

a. Marx and Engels frequently and explicitly emphasized that they could not enter into an analysis of the socialist society of the future, which would be left to the people who would live in it;

b. The positions they took (in denying a commodity or market economy) pertained to communist society (which is beyond dispute), so that those views cannot be used as arguments for the incompatibility of socialism and a market economy.

Commodity production is objectively determined by the degree to which social production is not direct. (Direct social production presupposes a level of development of the productive forces and of overall social development that allows for direct production to meet all needs and is accordingly a characteristic of the communist organization of society.) The haphazard character of the capitalist market economy and all its capitalist peculiarities are derived from production relations and the fact that private owners of the means of production, capitalists, figure as independent producers of commodities.

Under the objective conditions of the level of development of the productive forces in which socialism is developing and which do not allow for direct social production, and also under the conditions of the new socialist production relations based on public ownership, the associated workers perform the role of commodity producers and act in accordance with the laws of a socialist market economy as an historically new form of commodity production, which we shall be talking about below.

"Abolishing" the Market Economy Under Socialism

Dogmatic "Marxism" "abolished" the market economy under socialism in theoretical terms as an adjunct to its having abolished as a practical matter the economic and other forms of independence of society's basic production units and to its having created the preconditions for complete domination of the economy by centralistic state management.

2) The state, centralistic planning, and unified authority extending throughout society constitute the decisive form for regulating economic activities and almost the only form and vehicle for conscious activity in the economy.

The scheme for defending this position is also very simple; since there is no market economy under socialism and since under socialism the state is in and of itself the direct expression of the interests of the working class and represents the prospects for socialism, then the state is the only possible and necessary instrument for socialist development. Thanks to the logic of this scheme, one then moves on to the well-known Stalinist thesis of building socialism by making the government stronger.

Lenin by contrast took the very well-known position that "the proletarian state begins to wither away immediately after its triumph," and that under socialism "voluntary unification" develops instead of external coercion and social integration by means of the state (a process which he calls "centralization"). "It simply could never occur to Bernstein that voluntary centralism is possible, that communes might voluntarily unify to make up a nation, that proletarian communes would voluntarily merge as bourgeois rule and the machinery of the bourgeois state come crashing down. Like any philistine, Bernstein looked upon centralism as something which can be imposed and maintained only from above, only by a bureaucracy and an army."

The socialist revolution takes over the state and uses it to strengthen the rule of the working class, to create the preconditions for further development of the socialist revolution.

Under socialist socioeconomic relations and under the conditions of a socialist market economy processes which do not lead toward a real withering away of the state as a contribution to the development of direct socialist democracy by the associated working people--under our conditions, through development of the production relations of socialist self-management--make their appearance--and this is an objectively necessary phenomenon--as a contradiction and as an obstacle to the continuity of the socialist revolution.

In this basic theoretical context dogmatic positivism treats the relation between the market and the plan by "abolishing" the market economy and by absolutizing centralistic management and planning of the economy.

This analysis does not, of course, go into the socioeconomic content and production relations which that theoretical and practical solution engenders and reproduces, does not refer to the production relations in the basic production units of society and the character of conscious activity in those units, does not examine the problem from the standpoint of its historical and dialectical development, and, succinctly, avoids everything that might lead to a Marxist analysis of the problem. In this context the problems of the development of socialism are reduced in both theoretical and practical terms to quantitative achievements in physical production, and the sphere of social relations, the liberation of labor and the working class, is either regarded as complete and perfect or is deferred to some better time. This is the road along which dogmatic positivism becomes functionalist, develops into functionalist analysis and the optimum theory of economic management and goes hand-in-hand with present-day bourgeois theories of optimization.

These are the practical and theoretical premises on which labor and the workers are managed in the basic production unit on the basis of state ownership by its "representatives" within the framework of state management of the economy based on centralistic planning.

We can take V. Mazur's book "Economic Revisionism. A Criticism of the Revisionist Vulgarization of the Political Economy of Socialism" as a textbook example of this "theoretical" approach to the problems of the development of the socialist economy.

The Essence of V. Mazur's "Scientific Method"

Insofar as this book offers anything of interest and substance from the standpoint of Marxist theory, it is as a piece of propaganda and political ideology that it is interesting and truly worthy of mention.

Without, of course, going into any detailed analysis of the book, then, we deem it important to make a few remarks either about the book or evoked by it.

As the author has stated his intentions, the book is concerned with the writer's showdown with rightwing and leftwing revisionism on a worldwide scale and within the international working class movement.

All it takes to be called a "rightwing revisionist" by V. Mazur is this: to think that a law of value is operative under socialism since we are not dealing with direct social production, to advocate the development of self-management by the working people in work organizations, to criticize state ownership and the view that state ownership is the only form of ownership in socialism, or to criticize mandatory state planning (in particular the "subordination" of the lower levels to higher levels and management from a "single economic center"), and so on.

"Leftwing revisionism" is to this author the same thing, "opposite only in its form," since it contains the premise of social production as the sum total of independent economic units, and planning is given over to local bodies and production cells.

The "leftwing revisionist" differs from the "rightwing revisionist" in that the former does not look upon economic units as commodity producers, but as mutual producers.

"Leftwing revisionism," as one can conclude from the author's discussion, pertains exclusively to the theory and practice of the People's Republic of China, while "rightwing revisionism" has made its appearance in various quarters and in various forms.

By contrast with these "deviations," the only correct way to think, according to V. Mazur, is as follows:

1) Social production under socialism is direct (!), and consequently direct distribution of social labor, manpower and the means of production is inherent in socialism (!), and the law of planned economic development is operative instead of the law of value. Centralized economic plans issued from a "single economic center" link together the plans of enterprises, and centralized price setting represents a "qualitatively" new organization of production inherent in socialism (!), all of which make for "direct, immediate social (people's, state)" control of the production process in both physical and value terms. And, of course, "state ownership is the only possible" form of ownership under socialism (!).

2) "Socialist management" is based on the direct nature of social production, the all-inclusiveness of the collective principle and the law of planned economic development (!). For that reason its essence does not lie in self-management by the working people in enterprises, but in

"self-management of the workers at the level of society as a whole, which obligatorily presupposes the activity of public authorities over the entire economy" (!) and therefore the "withering away of narrow professional management" takes place through the process whereby government agencies become agencies for general management and administration (!). The arguments supporting this thesis of the state as the incarnation of self-management spectacularly assert that it is physically impossible for the entire people to act in the role of manager because of the "endless meetings" (!).

It is on these foundations and with the only plan that corresponds to them that V. Mazur extends his view of the world to similar meditations concerning political democracy, proletarian internationalism, and so on, thereupon to refer to more recent historical experiences as a kind of threatening warning to "revisionists." V. Mazur's attitudes are a good example of "pure" dogmatism, and the theoretical criticism of dogmatic positivism offered above pertains above all to those attitudes.

The low "theoretical" level of his text, however, has fully exposed the nature of the "scientific method" which was applied and which is worth taking note of.

V. Mazur does not arrive at his "theoretical" positions by means of any sort of Marxist analysis of development, of the practice and prospects of socialism, nor by means of any historical and materialistic analysis of the dialectical contradictions of socialism as a real phenomenon. He works backward from positions already hardened, and in conformity with those positions he determines what history has been, what is the situation with current social practice, and, above all, what are the prospects for the development of socialism. It is all extremely simple in the framework of this scheme; since centralistic management and planning of the economy by the single center represent the position and goal from which V. Mazur starts, then everything else is committed to devising the preliminary logical construction which is supposed to make what is presented as a conclusion--but is actually the premise--"scientific" and "logical." Here is how it is done:

a) Under socialism it is not the law of value that is operative, but--on the basis of the direct nature of social production, state ownership and direct distribution of social labor, manpower and the means of production--the law of planned economic development, which signifies centralistic economic planning and management by government agencies.

b) Given these premises, government agencies, through whose development and strengthening the socialist character of management is developed, represent the essence of socialist management. A supplemental argument to all of this is the infinitely banal idea that the people cannot physically manage social production.

Skirmishing With Lenin

The writer time and time again presents himself to us as a Leninist, but, of course, what Lenin actually said and wrote doesn't matter one whit to him.

The flagrant contradiction between V. Mazur and the classics of Marxism is well illustrated by Lenin's view concerning the people's participation in the management of society (Mazur's supplemental argument against self-management by the working people).

Lenin says: "Is there any other way for the people to learn to manage itself and to rid itself of errors than through actual practice? Than immediately undertaking real self-management by the people?" and "... without bringing new strata of people into the construction of society, without awakening the activity of the broad masses who have been sleeping up to now, there can be no question of any revolutionary transformation. Infinite discussions and the infinite holding of meetings, which the bourgeois press has talked about at such length and with such anger, represent an indispensable transition in which the masses, which are still not fully prepared, will obtain their public education, a transition from historical sleep to new historical creation.

V. Mazur's un-Marxist method of analysis and his failure to take into account the well-known positions of the classics of Marxism known to every student could not have produced anything other than a book which represents an aggressive revision of the basic foundations of Marxism and a dogmatic propaganda for positivistic functionalism.

Though from the standpoint of theory V. Mazur's book has no weight or substance, it does have a very real political and ideological dimension which is not to be ignored by any means.

To get down to cases, in his role as "theoretician" V. Mazur illustrated "rightwing revisionism" by quoting a number of positions by a large number of Yugoslav authors, eminent scholars and political figures; in quoting specific statements from specific articles and specific journals and issues of those journals, in most cases his scholarship was sloppy, and he didn't get their names right. The basic characteristic of the views of our authors which the "scholar" V. Mazur quoted and criticized--whether he mentioned their names or not--is that they are sufficiently general and well known so that they can be found in any of the most important documents of the LCY, starting with the Program and running up through the documents of the 10th LCY Congress and the SFRY Constitution, and that the texts either have fundamental theoretical importance to socialist self-management or were written in connection with significant political events in Yugoslavia which signified a battle in terms of practical political ideology for the development of socialist self-management as opposed to dogmatism and statism.

V. Mazur's "theoretical" attack on Marxism thereby really did become ideological aggression against socialist self-management as the foundation of our country's social system.

As both ideology and theory and as real social practice socialist self-management is today strong enough so that it need not be disturbed by the occasional "theoretical" ambitions of V. Mazur and his ilk.

Dogmatism as a Revision of Marxism

The dogmatism we have been talking about in the context of the problem which we are examining is unquestionably a phenomenon that deserves several remarks as to matters of principle.

Contemporary dogmatism is not only nor primarily a question of "scientific method," of doctrinaire adherence to and reiteration of particular views held by the writers or someone else (one should, of course, criticize that kind of doctrinaire dogmatism as well and develop theoretical thoughts and dialogs that bypasses it and opposes it).

Thanks to the reduction of dogmatism to those dimensions, it has frequently linked itself and identified itself with Marxism and an erroneous interpretation of Marxism. Dogmatism has been and is today a theoretical and ideological tendency which has frequently and on a very extensive scale attempted to present itself as Marxism, but it certainly does not have any "monopoly" on Marxism, nor does it have any "special feature" of Marxism.

In that same "methodological" mode we can identify religious dogmatism, the dogmatism of liberties of the bourgeois type, the mathematical dogmatism of contemporary economic theory, the idealistic dogmatism of various schools of philosophy, and so on.

The essential thing here, however, is that dogmatism today is not at all a "methodological" question or a question of doctrine. From the standpoint of theory and ideology, dogmatism is flagrantly opposed to Marxism and is one of the most broadly based attempts to revive it. If the problem is not primarily in the theoretical analysis of the incompatibility of Marxism and dogmatism, the problem lies in the need for a Marxist analysis of dogmatism itself.

Contemporary dogmatism is the ideology of statism; in theoretical and ideological terms it expresses real socioeconomic relations and interests, the tendencies that can be referred to as governmentalization of society. That is why contemporary dogmatic "Marxism," for all the capacity it shows for failing to understand the complexity of social life, is by no means some sectarian romanticism, but a tendency which in Yugoslavia has long been attempting to jeopardize the development of socialist relations based on self-management.

In the general constellation of a certain invigoration of dogmatic and bureaucratic-centralistic tendencies and their advocates we must say that neither as a whole, nor in specific areas and on specific topics, as is now the case with planning, do they represent an alternative for us, but rather they represent something contrary to the constitution and contrary to the party" (T. Vlaskalic, "The Ideological and Political Foundations of the New System of Planning," address delivered at the 10th Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the ICY, published by Komunist Publishing House, Belgrade, 1975).

Dogmatism, which in Yugoslavia is mostly theoretical and ideological, defends the bureaucratic conception of the state and the processes whereby the state becomes stronger in economic and social life.

Though there are shades, this is the line taken by dogmatic "Marxism" in defending all manifestations of the socioeconomic relations of statist socialism; it defends state ownership as the highest form of social ownership, it aggressively opposes the evolution of social ownership toward its nonownership forms, and on that basis it defends centralistic management and planning of the economy and society, attacking socialist self-management and direct socialist democracy of associated labor as an unnecessary luxury or "rightwing" deviation, it defends administrative distribution of the payroll, rejecting distribution according to the results of work, and so on.

Dogmatism thereby stands opposed in terms of ideology and policy to the interests of the working class and all the working people and to the interests of the socialist revolution and social progress.

It is, of course, a real theoretical and ideological phenomenon in the world, just as real as its socioeconomic generator, which is the aspiration to strengthen statist relations. Just as the strengthening of the state is an expression of the contradictions of the contemporary world and an attempt to overcome them, an attempt to regulate all the economic and social events of the contemporary world from a single central point, so also is dogmatism an expression of theoretical contradictions, an attempt to work out of those contradictions by means of the idea of the strong state that can cure all ills. Statism and dogmatism have the same historical limitations, which have primarily to do with their opposition to the development of modern productive forces and the normal tendencies of social changes accomplished through socialist revolution.

An Attempt to Sow Confusion and Confused Terms

In Yugoslavia dogmatism has its real roots and support in elements of statist-technocratic relations and practice and in the remnants of the bureaucratic outlook and behavior. Development of the socialist relations and practice of self-management is the best way of overcoming the socioeconomic foundations of dogmatism and of doing away with dogmatism itself.

This statist character of dogmatism, as we have already said, defines it and determines it as a positivistic and functionalistic system of thought.

In the sphere of theory these underpinnings make dogmatism aggressively restrictive; it is always and instinctively against. In defending its socioeconomic foundations and (or) prospects, it is restrictive not only (or even primarily) toward remnants of the old bourgeois outlook and ideas, but is most aggressive toward every revolutionary, socialist and self-management idea; it is militating, then, against the liberation of revolutionary ideas and practice.

Insofar as the theoretical and ideological criticism of dogmatism is a condition for developing the consciousness and practice of socialist self-management, it is essential that the very criticism of dogmatism be made from the positions and prospects of the continuity of the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia.

That is, in the now traditional repertoire of antisocialist ideological activity of the bourgeois type, there is a formula which identifies bureaucracy with socialism and dogmatism with Marxism, and then, by sowing confusion and by confusing terms and appearances, an attempt is made to "extend" the criticism of dogmatism to the criticism of Marxism and socialist self-management, thereby disseminating and developing bourgeois, liberalistic or nationalistic ideas and petty notions, which are equally dogmatic.

It is therefore extremely important to the future development of socialist self-management that an ongoing practical and specific, theoretical and ideological, socialist and self-management fight be waged against dogmatism, whether of the bureaucratic-centralistic type or the bourgeois type.

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YUGOSLAVIA

YOUTH PAPER SCORED FOR ARTICLE ON FOREIGN STUDENT PREJUDICE

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 76 p 17

[Article by Zdravko Basaric: "Bombastic, Though Unintentional"]

[Text] The first issue of POLET [FLIGHT], the newspaper of the Socialist Youth League of Croatia, which was recently published, announced its arrival with the following words: "POLET is ready for flight; this issue represents only a spreading of the wings by those prepared to fly. The kind of flight, the altitude and the destination will depend on you who will support it."

It is no question that it was time for POLET to appear in the obviously vacant space among publications by and for young people. It took flight nearly 5 years after agreement was reached that there was a need for it to fly. And while it is still flapping its wings in preparation for flight and gaining the necessary altitude for a good flight, in its second issue it lost its rhythm a bit and slowly sank into careless haste.

We believe, knowing what POLET means both to young people and to its editors, that what occurred was unintentional. But objectively it is very harmful.

What, in short, are we talking about?

Page 4 of the second issue of POLET carries an interview by Ratko Karabatovic, POLET staff member, of Telahun Ababe. It is obvious that he is talking about well-known, but still soluble, problems encountered by foreign students when they come to study in Yugoslavia, and he only mentions incidentally the rude behavior of individuals toward foreign students, particularly those whose skin is black.

Not only does the conversation not contain an indication of possible concrete solutions which might give guests invited from friendly countries the greatest help during their studies and stay in Yugoslavia, but in the first few sentences it also contains some untruths from the author Ratko Karabatovic. It does not stop there. The author (or the editors) use

the headlines to generalize this rude behavior which Telahun Ababe himself attributed to individuals, which is to say that such cases are exceptions. Without ulterior motives and apparently aimed primarily at achieving an effect, the interview was published under the title: "Yugoslavia: Invited Guests Are Not Welcome to Everyone," and included the heading: "... it is difficult to be black even in your country."

The bombastic ring of the title, which nevertheless departs considerably from the actual content of the interview, unquestionably reflects a lack of forethought in the first trial flight of POLET, which young people need and an unintentional delivery of water to the mill of those who are malicious, especially when that water spreads over to the next page of this issue, page 5, which contains an article entitled: "The South African Republic," and the heading: "What life is like under apartheid."

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YUGOSLAVIA

JOURNALIST NOTES OPPOSITIONAL TENDENCIES IN PRESS

Belgrade NASA STAMPA in Serbo-Croatian No 248, Nov 76 pp 3-4

[Excerpts] At the Yugoslav journalists conference held 19 November 1976 in Skopje, Milan Rakas [member of the editorial board of KOMUNIST] reported on self-management interest communities [engaged in publishing or broadcasting] identified with deformations. "I get the impression that because of our inadequate ideological education, the content of our articles and broadcasts are frequently such that we jerk a child from his roots and throw him into filthy water, and we create confusion among our readers and listeners." Rakas also wanted to say a few words about the phenomenon of oppositional action by some of our press. "I am thinking that it is probably a question of this inadequate ideological education, but it is also a question of a devastation in recent times, of the recurrence of a tendency toward oppositional action by our newspapers and publications. For instance, we permitted MLADOST, the organ of our Socialist Youth Federation to become almost an organ of opposition. As you know, 13 feuilleton installments appeared in 13 issues of this paper, the contents of which were completely on the other [opposite] side of LC (League of Communists) policy. All these [installments] went past us. [KOMUNIST finally published criticisms in the 18 October and 13 December 1976 issues.]

Finally, political intervention had to be taken with the founders of this paper. In order that we understand each other, we, too, at KOMUNIST were late in tracing the author, and it was inadmissible for the organ of the LC to wait to react until 13 installments of this feuilleton had appeared--or as someone said here--we reacted too late. Why did this happen? In my opinion, because we are not yet so professionally capable or ideologically developed that we can decisively wage battle against such attempts at opposition. We are also not adequately organized so as to be able to gather together rapidly creative Marxist cadres who are able to have a showdown on the pages of our newspapers with such manifestations..

The next example which confirms that tendencies of oppositional action are appearing is the publication in JEZ of an "Heretical Story," which marked, as it said, the 25th anniversary of the appearance of this article that is as dangerous and harmful for our society today as it was 25 years ago.

The third example which probably confirms the same point about the appearance of oppositional forces is the recently published interview with Gajo Petrovic in KNJIZEVNA REC, the youth literary paper. It is strange that in this paper Petrovic, with his views which are in direct conflict with the course of the LC, has an accomplice, namely, the interviewer of KNJIZEVNA REC, who through his questions approves everything that Petrovic brings out in the interview. Thus, KNJIZEVNA REC provides space also to such a staff member who identifies himself with the opinions of Dr Gajo Petrovic. Even this does not worry me as much as the fact that, again, almost no one was able to react to this occurrence in our other public organs--to react publicly from the position and policy of the LC. Other examples could be cited which show that we communists in our information media are not alert and are still not adequately committed to the LC course.

Nihilism is a special form of oppositional action in our public information media. As an illustration of this I will quote only one part of an introduction which was recently published in one of our reputable republic dailies (I will not mention the name of the paper simply because I will not reproach anyone who may be here from the editorial staff...association to which its journalists belong). This introduction discusses the [lack of] cleanliness of one of our republic cities, and says in a nihilistic way: "The city smells, the noise is ghastly, the buildings are battlefields, the children are set up as on rifle ranges, so it is high time we come to our senses."

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

CROAT EMIGRE COLUMNIST EXPLAINS RECENT SILENCE

[Editorial Report] Munich HRVATSKA DRZAVA in Serbo-Croatian No 258, November-December 1976, page 5, carries a lengthy polemical article by the presumably pseudonymous V. Sinjski. This is Sinjski's first appearance in the anti-Yugoslav Croatian emigre newspaper-format monthly, which is published by Ivan Jelic, brother and heir to the late Branko Jelic, since issue No 243 dated August 1975. HRVATSKA DRZAVA had regularly printed Sinjski's columns, which were notable for the virulence with which he assailed fellow emigres who did not share his views on politics and the lessons of Croatian history, for years before that.

Sinjski has been goaded into speaking out once more, he writes, by an attack in the emigre periodical NOVA HRVATSKA (London) alleging him to have written an article under the pseudonym V. Hrvoje for the emigre weekly paper HRVATSKI Glas (Winnipeg) and to have been an "udbas," i.e., a tool of the Yugoslav security authorities, while masquerading as a "Great Croat." Sinjski denies the first allegation and refutes the second with references to his own sufferings and those of his relatives in postwar Yugoslavia.

Sinjski had stopped writing his regular columns for a number of reasons, one of which had been a desire to keep silent for the sake of "peace in the household," i.e., to hold off on polemics while the emigre Croatian National Council was forming and in order not to cause trouble for his publisher. But there had been reasons of health as well, as Sinjski notes in addressing himself directly to his antagonist: "Something happened to the 'Great Croat' that will never happen to you, you tongue of a dog. The 'Great Croat' was on fire like a torch and contested with death for 4 months. He was burned down to his bones as he was performing his Croatian task. Two of us succeeded in surviving, whereas the third, a 21-year-old Croatian warrior, was building his young life into the walls of the Croatia of tomorrow. And do you know, you bum, the name of the young commando who burned up for Croatia with me? I shall tell you--Rade Prskalo, the brother of the R. Prskalo who hijacked the Swedish aircraft."